

May 22, 1947

The Honorable  
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Attached hereto is the report of our Com-  
mittee created by House Resolution No. 9, for  
whatever action you may deem proper and convenient  
to take on the premises.

Very respectfully,

(SGD.) CORNELIO T. VILLAREAL  
Chairman of the Committee

Encls.:

1

*Res. 9 - democratic action  
New - surplus - postwar*

*ad. journal 7:22 a.m. May 23*

64-200-239-65

INVESTIGATION BASED ON HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 9

May 20, 1947. - Committed to the Committee of the whole on the State  
of the Nation and ordered to be printed

Mr. VILLAREAL, from the Special Committee to conduct an investigation  
Based on House Resolution No. 9, submitted the  
following

R E P O R T

I. INTRODUCTION

The House of Representatives, at its session held on June 6, 1946,  
took up for discussion and consideration, the following resolution:

~~RESOLUTION TO DEFER THE ADMINISTRATION OF OATH AND THE SITTING OF~~  
~~LUIS TARUC AND AMADO YUSON FROM PAMPANGA, CONSTANCIO P. PADILLA AND JOSE~~  
~~GANDO FROM NUEVA ECIJA, ALEJANDRO SIMPAUCO FROM TARLAC, JESUS LAVA AND~~  
~~ALFON SANTOS FROM BULACAN, AND VICENTE E. GUSTILO FROM OCCIDENTAL NEGROS,~~  
~~ALL REPRESENTATIVES-ELECT, PENDING THE DETERMINATION OF THE PROTEST LODGED~~  
~~AGAINST THEIR ELECTION.~~

Whereas, the Commission on Elections charged under the Constitution with  
the duty of insuring free, orderly and honest elections in the Philippines,  
reported to the President of the Philippines on May 23, 1946, that

"On election day, altho no acts of violence were officially  
reported to this Commission in connection with the elections we  
were advised by our representatives in Nueva Ecija that ballot  
boxes were stolen by armed bands in the barrios of the municipalities  
of Bongabon, Gapan, Sta. Rosa, and Guimba. These incidents are still  
under investigation by the Military Police Command. After the elect-  
ion we cannot fail to notice the reports published in the newspapers  
on the attacks that have been made by armed bands upon persons or  
groups of persons who were known to have voted for candidates other  
than the candidates of these armed elements. Even the report sub-  
mitted to this Commission by the Provost Marshal General on May 20,  
1946... contains a recital of incidents of terrorism that occurred  
in the four provinces of Central Luzon herein above mentioned which  
disturbed or affected the national election in an undesirable manner.  
Reports also reached this Commission to the effect that in the pro-  
vinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija, the secrecy  
of the ballot was actually violated; that armed bands saw to it that  
their candidates were voted for; and that the great majority of the  
voters, thus coerced or intimidated, suffered from a paralysis of  
judgement in the matter of exercising the right of suffrage. Consi-  
dering all these acts of terrorism, violence and intimidation in  
connection with elections which are more or less general in the  
provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, this Com-

mission believes that the election in the provinces aforesaid did not reflect the true and free expression of the popular will. It should be stated, however, that this Commission is without jurisdiction to determine whether or not the votes cast in the said provinces which, according to these reports have been cast under the influence of threats or violence, are valid or invalid. Suffice to state that, in accordance with the provisions of Section 2, Article X of the Constitution:

'The Commission on Elections shall have exclusive charge of the enforcement and administration of all laws relative to the conduct of elections and shall exercise all other functions which may be conferred upon it by law. It shall decide, save those involving the right to vote, all administrative questions, affecting elections, including the determination of the number and location of polling places, and the appointment of election inspectors and of other election officials...., and that the question of whether or not a vote has been cast legally or illegally is not for this Commission to determine. The matter is therefore being brought to the attention of the President and Congress of the Philippines for such action as may be deemed proper, pursuant to the requirement of the Constitution that this Commission submit after every election a report to the said offices on the manner the election was conducted."

WHEREAS, the minority report of the Hon. Vicente de Vera, member of the Commission on Elections, says among other things that "We know that as a result of this chaotic condition, many residents of the four provinces have voluntarily banished themselves from their home towns in order not to be subjected to the prevailing oppression and to avoid being victimized or losing their lives"; and that after the elections dead bodies had been found with notes attached to their necks, reading: "Bomoto kami kay Roxas" (We voted for Roxas);

WHEREAS, the same Judge de Vera says in his minority report that in the four provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija, the worst terrorism reigned during and after the elections, and that if the elections held in the aforesaid provinces were annulled as demanded by the circumstances mentioned in the report of the Commission, Luis Taruc and Amado Tuson from Pampanga, Constancio P. Padilla and Jose Cano from Nueva Ecija, Alejandro Simpaucio from Tarlac, Jesus Lava and Alejo Santos from Bulacan, and Vicente F. Gustilo from Occidental Negros, all Representative-Elect, would not and could not have been declared elected:

WHEREAS, in his report of the Provost Marshal General, Col. Amado Dumlap, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, attached to the report of the Commission on Elections, states among other things that "all the members of the Church of Christ (Iglesia ni Cristo) were intimidated and coerced, some kidnapped and murdered" by the HUKBALAHAPS "because they had expressed their opinion that they were going to vote for President-elect Manuel A. Roxas"; that because of terrorism and coercion "a great many barrio people have evacuated their respective places and signified their intention not to vote"; and that ballot boxes were taken away from barrios San Miguel, Pasong Isip, Pakap, Guimba, and Galvan, and that in some instance election inspectors were kidnapped:

WHEREAS, the terrorism resorted to by the lawless elements in the four provinces mentioned above in order to insure the election of the candidates of the Conservative Wing of the Nationalista Party is a public knowledge and that such terrorism continues to this day; that before the elections JOSE O. VER, himself declared as campaign manager of the Osmeña faction that he was sorry if Presidential Candidate Manuel A. Roxas could not campaign in Huk provinces because his life would be endangered; and that because of the constant murders of his candidates and leaders, Presidential Candidate Roxas found it necessary to appeal to American High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt for protection, which appeal the American High Commissioner personally referred to President Osmeña for appropriate action, and the President in turn ordered the Secretary of the Interior to afford the necessary protection, thus impliedly admitting the existence and reign of such terrorism.

WHEREAS, the Philippines, a Republican State embracing the principles of democracy, must condemn all acts that seek to defeat the popular will;

WHEREAS, it is essential, in order to maintain alive the respect for democratic institutions among our people, that no man or group of men be permitted to profit from the results of an election held under coercion, in violation of law, and contrary to the principle of freedom of choice which should underlie all elections under the Constitution;

WHEREAS, protests against the election of the Representatives-elect herein named have been filed with the Electoral Tribunal of the House of Representatives on the basis of the findings of the Commission on Elections above-quoted; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Philippines, as it is hereby resolved, to defer the administration of the oath and the sitting of Luis Taruc and Amado Yuson from Pampanga, Constancio P. Padilla and Jose Cando from Nueva Ecija, Alejandro Simpauc from Tarlac, Jesus Lava and Alejo Santos from Bulacan, and Vicente F. Gustilo from Occidental Negros, all Representatives-elect, pending the hearing and decision on the protest lodged against their elections, wherein the terrorism averred in the report of the Commission on Elections and in the report of the Provost Marshall General constitute the ground of said protests and will therefore be the subject of investigation and determination,

and upon previous motion, the House of Representatives, on June 10, 1946, approved the creation of a Special Committee to Study House Resolution No. 9 Re Administration of Oath to Representative-elect Luis Taruc and Others, and on the same day, the Speaker appointed a committee of 7 to study the foregoing resolution and submit reports and recommendations in connection thereto, consisting of the following members of Congress, namely, Cornelio T. Villareal (L. Capiz), chairman; Jose Topacio Nueno (L. Manila), Estansilao Fernandez (L. Laguna), Lorenzo Sumulong (L. Rizal), Toribio P. Perez (L. Albay), Felixberto Serrano (N. Datangas), and Agustin Y. Kintanar (N. Cebu), members.

At the inception of the hearings conducted by the Committee the members were unanimous in their decision to approach the task along bi-partisan lines; and that the criterion that was to be followed in the appreciation of the evidence presented, both testimonial and docu-

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mentary, was none other than the enduring welfare of this nation.

Except for the staff members from the Stenographers Division of the House, your Committee did not employ, nor was appropriation made to enable it to employ any other technical assistants. The stenographers assigned to it alternated in taking notes of all the hearings; and one served as the secretary of the Committee who had custody of all the records and the mass of documents which were presented for the examination of the Committee, in addition to taking charge of all our correspondence. In short, your committee was literally short-handed, accounting for the delay of this report, together with other dilatory circumstances which had to be overcome in order to enable us to reach at the bottom of the problem under question.

Your committee, is proud to report that on the whole we received the splendid spirit and substance of cooperation from our witnesses, both private and official, with the exception of the two respondents Luis Taruc and Jesus Lava, who failed to appear before us.

While we are taking this opportunity to express our gratitude to everyone who cooperated with the Committee freely, we should like to make special mention of the aid which the following intelligence officials of the Government have extended to us: Col. Amando ~~Dumlao~~, former chief, G-2 MPC (PA); Atty. Joaquin ~~Pardo de Tavera~~, chief, Division of Investigation, Department of Justice; Col. Alberto ~~Ramos~~, now chief, G-2, MPC (PA); and Brig. Gen. Mariano N. ~~Castañeda~~, Provost Marshal General, Army of the Philippines. At the request of the Chairman, Gen. ~~Castañeda~~ also loaned to the Committee, the services of one of his intelligence operatives who is an expert on Communism. This was the only outside addition to the staff of your committee; and the assistance of this agent was deemed absolutely necessary for the proper classification, analysis and evaluation of the evidence presented, everyone of which have bearing on the communist movement in this country.

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All told, your Committee took a little less than a year to unearth an insidious conspiracy against the independence of this country, and the peace and security of its people.

## II THE ISSUE

When the House created this Committee there was no specific mandate for it to investigate the true nature, aims and methods of the communist movement here. On the other hand, the scope of our commission did not preclude our examining this inescapable aspect of the work which confronted us stark in the face from the very beginning. The extraordinary circumstances which prompted the creation of this Committee, in our opinion, warrant the disclosures of the extraordinary facts which we are about to make.

Resolution No. 9 called to the attention of the House the existence of the atmosphere and reality of terrorism, intimidation and coercion which pervaded the period prior, on, and after April 23, 1946. It was alleged that the D.A. members named in this resolution were elected under such undemocratic circumstances; and it was felt that the formal sitting of these gentlemen be deferred, as it was deferred by virtue of Resolution No. 9, pending decision by the Electoral Tribunal on the protests against them; and/or, to the extent that this House is empowered to decide as to the proper conduct and activities of the members acceptable to it as a constitutional body, pending the submission of this report and the recommendations of your Committee.

The field traversed by your Committee during a little less than a year of investigation consisted of two directions. On the one hand, we examined evidence which tended to prove the existence of actual physical violence during that period. On the other, we had to look over

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proofs showing the ideological cause of this violence. In other words, in order to be thorough in our survey of the whole situation we had to see whether the actual physical acts of violence were premeditated and organized; and if the latter was found true, to determine the nature of that organization. We are now asking the House to decide whether or not these gentlemen should formally take their seats, on the basis of the findings contained in this report.

### III PARTIAL REPORT

On September 30, 1946, the chairman of your Committee made the following report on the floor of the House, with respect to the formal taking of the oath and sitting of Congressman-elect Vicente E. Gustilo (N. Negros Occidental) and Alejo Santos (N. Dulacan):

"Mr. VILLAREAL, Mr. Speaker, your Committee appointed to investigate the allegation of facts contained in House Resolution No. 9, which in effect deferred the administration of the oaths of Office to Congressman-elect Luis Taruc, Amado Yuson, Constancio Padilla, Jose Cando, Alejandro Simpauc, Jesus Lava, Alejo Santos, and Vicente F. Gustilo, has conducted the necessary investigation with the end in view to arriving at an early conclusion or to rendering an early report to this House; but due to pressure of work in the House, and, due to the fact that there were so many witnesses who appeared before the Committee, your Committee tonight can make only a partial report on its findings with respect to only two members affected in the resolution. These members are Congressman-elect from the province of Occidental Negros, Hon. Vicente F. Gustilo, and Congressman-elect from Dulacan, Hon. Alejo Santos.

With respect to Honorable Vicente F. Gustilo's district, your Committee found out that the province of Occidental Negros has never been mentioned in the report of the Commission on Elections. Upon investigation, it appeared that even if the election in the municipality of Calatrava were declared annulled, the Honorable Vicente F. Gustilo would still be the winner in that district if no irregularities were committed in other municipalities. Without prejudice, therefore to the protest filed by Mr. Amado Parreño against Mr. Vicente F. Gustilo, which is now pending in the Electoral Tribunal, your Committee now recommends to the House for approval, that the Honorable Vicente F. Gustilo be allowed to take his oath of Office before the Speaker.



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With respect to Congressman-elect, Honorable Alejo Santos, the terrorism that was alleged to have occurred in his district was not fully proven.

Limiting within the district of Mr. Alejo Santos, and without affecting in the least the investigation conducted by the Senate regarding terrorism and violence employed by the Huks and the MPK during the 1946 National Elections, and taking into consideration that in some towns in the district of Mr. Santos, General Roxas also obtained majority votes over his opponent, your Committee is of the opinion, and now recommends that the Honorable Alejo Santos, be temporarily allowed to take his oath of Office before the Honorable, the Speaker of this House, without prejudice to further continuing the investigation conducted by the Committee regarding his case, and without further prejudice to whatever findings the Senate Investigating Committee might arrive at after its own investigation.

Mr. Speaker, your Committee asks for the approval of this partial report.

The Committee found no evidence showing that these two gentlemen, who have already been formally seated in this House, are individually affiliated with the Communist Party. It is, however, a matter of public record that the Nationalista Party Conservative Wing is officially in coalition with the Democratic Alliance, which we are going to show here to be a front organization of the Communist Party.

#### IV GENERAL STATEMENT OF FACTS

Hundreds of pages of testimony and documentary evidence of various kinds and descriptions have established the truth of the allegations in Resolution No. 9, with respect to the activities of the organizations to which Messrs. Luis Taruc, Amado Yuson, Jesus Lava, Constancio P. Padilla, Jose Cando, and Alejandro Simpauso are affiliated, in the sense that while they claim to be peaceful organizations, these nevertheless abet and encourage the commission of such acts whenever and wherever the practice of their movement or program is seriously endangered or considerably enhanced.

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Your committee concurs with the findings of the Senate Electoral Tribunal with respect to the existence of actual physical terrorism in the province of Pampanga, although testimonies were also examined by us concerning isolated cases of actual terrorism in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Bulacan.

Your Committee is forced to conclude that while there was no actual widespread disorder on the very day of the election (April 23, 1946), the element of fear has so been implanted in the minds of the people of the area long before that decisive moment; and even up to the present time the government is forced to employ its military resources in order to maintain peace and order in that region. We submit that the terrorism attributed to these dissident organizations to which these gentlemen were, or are still, connected were done gangster-fashion; and that the numerous killings and liquidations of prominent and substantial residents of the region were committed not only to eliminate people whom they know would never tolerate the materialization of their unholy plot to enslave the people of this country and take away their independence; but also to create a general wave of fear among the masses of our people for the purpose of bringing on a civil war.

The breakdown of peace and order in Central Luzon, at a time when this nation has barely been politically emancipated, finds no sanction in the political struggle of our people. It is insane to assume that this strife was historically inevitable. It can find no justification in the common saying that no people ever attained independent nationhood and progress without a civil war. We refuse to admit that the cause of this rebellion is to afford our people certain freedoms that are denied to them, as the people of this country have never been more free than they are at present. And if revolution is to be justified at all, it must be that revolution which our people will be forced to wage when the Communists and their unthinking dupes and fellow travelers shall have succeeded in destroying the existing form of democratic and republican government.

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The Committee must confess that in order to be able to present a clear picture of the chain of circumstances that brought about this number one problem of our young Republic, we are forced to relate the true nature, aims and methods of the Communist movement in the Philippines. This approach is inescapable, because, as we have stated in the beginning, the evidence before us point to the activities of the agents and followers of this movement as the direct instigators of these hostilities.

We are forced to conclude that there is a deliberate plot to create a revolutionary situation here, similar to that which existed in Russia in 1917, in order to enable a militant minority to capture the power of government.

We are forced to conclude that in the layout of these disruptive activities we find no jurisdiction for the claim that these are for the promotion of the individual interests and national aspirations of the Filipinos.

We are forced to conclude, finally, that in the light of current world events these activities are committed solely for the purpose of widening the prestige and influence of a foreign power — the Soviet Union — a country that has not even accorded recognition to the Republic of the Philippines.

#### V. THE TRUE NATURE, AIMS AND METHODS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

From the evidence presented to this committee, we found the following conclusions to be true with respect to the nature, aims and methods of the Communist Party in the Philippines:

It is an integral part of a world revolutionary movement for proletarian internationalism.

It looks upon Russia as the "fatherland of the revolutionary workers," and cannot claim therefore, any degree of loyalty to the existing form of government in the Philippines.

It seems ultimately the overthrow of the form of government as established by the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.

It aims to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country, notwithstanding its present tactical silence on this fundamental tenet of

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communism.

It rests upon brutal violence despite its present dishonest profession of belief in the processes of democracy.

It is bound by no ordinary ethical limitations in seeking to advance its program.

It aims at the complete confiscation of private property in the means of production, including the socialization of the land.

It hides behind civil liberties in pursuing ends which will destroy civil liberties for all but the ruling few of the proletarian dictatorship.

It works on the principle of leverage in accomplishing its purposes, depending not upon a majority of voters but upon a highly disciplined minority.

It is energetically applying the Trojan Horse tactic in penetrating other organizations for the purposes of seeking to control them or, failing that, to destroy them.

It is the enemy of all forms of religion and looks upon faith in God as an outworn superstition.

In the masquerade of science, it offers the most unscientific approach to human problems which the world has seen since the Dark Ages.

It stifles the creative impulses of the individual by its deadening regimentation.

It is basically a philosophy of hatred which seeks to promote class war.

It is boring from within labor unions on a wide scale, seeking to dominate or wreck the unions for purposes that are alien to the interests of organized wage earners.

It deliberately provokes violence in labor disputes for the purpose of training a revolutionary group in the tactics of civil war.

It seeks to cripple our economy on every possible front, with a view to its profiting by the resulting economic crisis.

It seeks to silence all hostile criticism by charging its critics with red-baiting, while, at the same time, it viciously baits those who dare to oppose it.

It fears to have the spotlight of publicity turned upon its real aims

and methods, and will stop at nothing to discredit, if possible, those who fearlessly expose its program and activities.

It tries to exploit any existing discontent for the purpose of building a revolutionary movement which has nothing to do with solving of the problem from which discontent arises.

It dangles the promise of economic security before the victims of economic distress, offering them a new slavery in the name of emancipation.

It systematically and deliberately deceives many of our people by the use of high-sounding names for organizations which profess laudable objectives, but which, underneath, are designed solely to advance the cause of communism.

It persuades careless or innocent Filipinos to lend their names for the propaganda of the communist movement.

It employs numerous "fellow travelers" who outnumber its card-holding membership, and by the use of these "fellow travelers" extends its influence into organizations and institutions of every description.

It is an illegal association.

It has caused the split in the original Nationalista Party and still holds considerable sway, through the Democratic Alliance, over what remains of the Nationalista Party Conservative Wing.

It is presently engaged in an active armed rebellion against the Republic of the Philippines, directing and supporting the organization known as the ~~"HUKBALAHAP"~~.

It is presently seeking to infiltrate its influence into the halls of this House through the six Democratic Alliance members who are the subject of this investigation.

#### VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES OPERATES IN THE UNITED STATES

From the evidence presented to this committee it has been shown conclusively that the activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines are directed and controlled in the United States. This information may be gleaned from the testimony of one John ~~L.~~ Beech, former member of the State Committee, Communist Party of California, which was given to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Tuesday, July 16, 1940.

The following excerpt from Volume 2 of the Executive Hearings, page 946, is reproduced for the information of this House:

"Mr. STEDMAN (committee investigator). Mr. Chairman, in connection with this man Chester Jordan, we have had other testimony which indicated he was a member of the Communist Party.

"Mr. Leech, in addition to having the American Communications Association well under its thumb, does the party have any other means of communicating with the Soviet Union or other foreign countries, on the Pacific coast?

MR. LEECH. The maritime unions perhaps plays a very important part, yes, in Los Angeles. I don't know if this holds true over the country generally, or not; but in Los Angeles, since my experience in the party, the Communist International maintains in Los Angeles what is known as a Philippine committee. This committee was comprised of Japanese party members, Filipino and Chinese party members, and while they operated within the Los Angeles section, our section, or myself, as county organizer, had no jurisdiction over them. In all of my experience they worked directly under the representative sent here by the Communist International. This committee was used to keep the party in this country and the party in Russia informed as to the activities of the party in Cuba, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands, and to act as carrying messages--and in some instances finances--between the party in this country and the various islands that we control, to the Soviet Union."

The foregoing information may be corroborated by the following exchange of communications between a witness of this committee and the United States Ambassador to the Philippines. This witness requested that his name be not disclosed here but consented to have the communications quoted.

The text of the basis communication follows:

"September 9, 1946

"Mr. Paul V. McNutt  
United States Ambassador to  
The Republic of the Philippines  
Rosario Apartments, Malate, Manila.

Sir :

I have read your article in the July 8th issue of Collier's magazine entitled "Democracy's Child Is 21." I am clipping the article with this letter for your ready reference.

From one reader to an author, may I, sir, ask one question concerning an assertion you made in the article? On page 67 this statement appears:

"There is a small but extremely vociferous Communist Party, which, at the moment, is receiving considerable aid, comfort and attention from the Communist Party of the United States."

May I know, sir, if, as a private investigator examining the true nature of the ideology and methods of Communism as propounded by the Communist Party, I can have access to your sources of information to prove that the Communist Party in the Philippines 'is receiving considerable aid, comfort and attention from the Communist Party of the United States?'

"Very respectfully,

(Sgd.) (CONFIDENTIAL)

This letter was answered by Mr. Julius C. C. Edelstein, then acting Director of Information and Cultural Relations of the American Embassy, as follows:

FOREIGN SERVICE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy  
Manila, Philippines  
November 1, 1946.

Mr. dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

Your letter of September 9, 1946, addressed to Ambassador McNutt is at hand. I have been directed by the Ambassador to thank you for your interest in the article you mentioned. The Ambassador cannot, unfortunately, give you his sources of information on this matter; but it is well-known, and in fact a matter of public record, that there is a Communist Party in the Philippines and that its program is supported in the United States by the Communist Party of the United States.

With very good wishes I remain

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) JULIUS C. C. ~~EDELSTEIN~~  
Commander USNR  
Acting Director of Information  
and Cultural Relations.

Numerous other evidence can be presented by your committee to prove that the Communist movement is a foreign conspiracy which has succeeded in enlisting the aid and comfort of a considerable number of our citizens with various degrees of loyalty to it ranging from actual membership in the Communist Party to extension of material and financial aid, as well as cultural and intellectual affinity and collaboration. Evidence showing direct Russian and Chinese Communist activities, as well as those of other nationalities, are also available to your committee.

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VII. THE ILLEGALITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
IN THE PHILIPPINES

Right at this point your committee desires to produce information to show that the Communist Party in the Philippines is an illegal association. There seems to be a general misconception as to the legal status of this organization, considering that neither the past administration nor the present one has taken any step to enforce the law affecting the Communist Party.

It is the opinion of the committee that the inability of the government to stand pat on the illegality of the Communist Party is at the root of the general breakdown of law and order in Central Luzon; and that, were the decisions of the Supreme Court enforced conscientiously by administrative officials, instead of being ignored for reasons of their own, the situation would not have deteriorated to such as is now confronting this Republic. The committee believes that the present administration of President Roxas has not compromised itself with the communist movement; and that in line with its pledge to restore respect for law and order, it is now in a position to compose a case against the known officials and members of the Communist Party. Your committee believes that the following decision of the Supreme Court stands, and that the principles of law established by it have not been changed but on the contrary existing circumstances of the activities of the Communist Party warrant their application. This decision is cited without annotation from Volume 57 of the Philippine Reports, pages 376 to 380. We are taking pains in presenting the whole decision here, because the facts of the nature of the activities of the Communist Party then are not only evident today but that in addition to adhering to the same program, the Communist Party has already succeeded in organizing an armed unit--the HUKBALAHAP armed bands--for the purposes of actually overthrowing the government of this Republic by forces



and evidence.

The facts of the case and the opinion of the Supreme Court are as follows:

"Crisanto Evangelista, Jacinto G. Manahan, Guillermo Capadocia, Mariano P. Balgos, Enrique Torrente, Urbano Arcega, Catalino Monroy, Francisco Pagsel, Sotero Senson, Remigio Tolentino, Dominador B. Reyes, Felipe Cruz, Maximo M. Gutierrez, Dominador J. Ambrosio, Ceñon Laanienta, Mateo del Castillo, Norberto Nabong, Sixto Estrada, Augusto David, Doroteo Cahumban, Jose Ilagan, and Liboro Natividad were accused in the Court of First Instance of the City of Manila of a crime against the fundamental laws of the State, it being alleged in the information as follows:

"That on or about the 30th day of May, 1931, and for some time prior thereto, the above named accused, conspiring and confederating together and helping one another, did then and there willfully, unlawfully and feloniously affiliate to, compose and become members of, the so-called Communist Party of the Philippines (Partido Komunista sa Filipinas), an illegal association, whose principal purposes and objects are to bring about, by the use of force, the downfall of the present form of government and establish in place thereof another patterned after the Soviet Government of Russia and run by those affiliated to and in sympathy with said association; to invite a revolt of the laboring class, advocating and urging struggle between said laboring class and the so-called capitalists, and other similar objects tending to combat the fundamental basis of the present social order and alter the regularity of its functions and to the commission of violations of the existing laws, which above-mentioned association was forced and organized without the local authorities having been informed of its aforesaid objects and purposes as well as of the by-laws thereof; and that at the time and place herein-above mentioned, in the furtherance of their conspiracy and in utter disregard of the notice of warning given by the authorities that they could not hold any meeting anywhere, the said accused assembled, gathered and congregated under the name and auspices of the Katipunan ng mga Anak-pawis sa Filipinas (Association of the Sons of the Sweet of the Philippine Islands), another association having the same illegal aims and purposes as the said Communist Party of the Philippines, at El Retena Building, in said City of Manila."

"After the trial the court below convicted the said accused, with the exception of Norberto Nabong, Sixto Estrada, Augusto David, Doroteo Cahumban, Jose Ilagan, Liboro Natividad, and Mateo del Castillo, who were acquitted.

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"Whereafter the convicted assused appealed to this court.

"The accused were charged with the crime of illegal association in the Court of First Instance of the City of Manila in that on or about the 30th day of May, 1931, and for some time prior thereto, the said accused affiliated to, and became members of, the so-called Communist Party of the Philippines whose principal purposes and object were to bring about by force the downfall of the present form of government and establish in its place another patterned after the Soviet Government of Russia, and to incite a revolt of the laboring class.

"After trial the court below convicted the said accused, with the exception of Norberto Nabong, Sixto Estrada, Augusto David, Doroteo Cahumban, Jose Ilagan, Liboro Natividad, and Mateo del Castillo, who were acquitted.

"It appears that the appellants, Evangelista, Manahan, Capadocia, Torrente, Arcega, Monroy, Rafael, Senson, Tolentino, Reyes, San Juan, Santos, Lagman, Santiago, Mesina, Cruz, Gutierrez, and Ambrosio, presented themselves as candidates of the Communist Party for different offices--insular, provincial and municipal--in the last elections; that the accused Mariano F. Balgos, Genon Lalanienta and some of those who campaigned for their candidacies as members of the Communist Party, delivered speeches at several meetings of the Communist Party, advocating the ideas and principles of the said Communist Party and urging the laborers to join it.

"It also appears that the appellant Enrique Torrente appears in the newspaper known as Titis, an organ of the Communist Party, as the editor thereof.

"The appellants have not denied being members of the Communist Party of the Philippines; on the contrary, Crisanto Evangelista admitted expressly at the trial that he was affiliated to the said party. As witness for the defense, he testified that the objects and purposes of the Communist Party of the Philippines are not out in its constitution and by-laws which purposes and objects, according to said constitution and by-laws, are to overthrow the present form of government by any means necessary, especially armed revolution.

"The appellant, Catalino Monroy, admitted having gone to Russia as delegate of the Kapisanan nang mga Anak pawis to the Red International Labor Union Congress.

"From the foregoing it is clear that the twenty appellants herein are or were members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, for all of them, with the exception of Balgos and Lacanienta, presented themselves as candidates in the last general elections as communists, and said Balgos and Lacanienta, as well as many of those mentioned, delivered speeches at several meetings held under the auspices of the said Communist Party, advocating communism and urging the laborers to affiliate to the said party. If any one of those appellants were not a member of the Communist Party, it would have been very easy for him to deny it, but no one has so done.

"The principal defense set up by the appellants is that the Communist Party of the Philippines is not an illegal association in that it preaches only a social but not an armed revolution, but a mere reading of the constitution of the Communist Party will show that such a pretense is obviously useless. Neither is there any merit in the appellants' argument that communism is not prohibited in any part of the civilized world. And as to the validity of the law prohibiting communism, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the law of California prohibiting the display of the communist red flag as a sign inciting sedition and disorderly opposition to the government.

"Under the law of the Philippine Islands, the association formed by the appellants is clearly illegal. Article 188 of the Penal Code, as substituted by article 24 of the Royal Decree of September 12, 1897 (Alcubilla, Diccionario de Administracion, Apendice de 1897, p. 454), says that illegal associations are those the object of which is against public morals, to commit some crime, or to attack the fundamental basis of the social order or alter the regularity of its functions. Now, according to appellant Crisanto Evangelista and the constitution and by-laws of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the purpose of the party is to incite class struggle and to overthrow the present government by peaceful means or by armed revolution; therefore, the purpose of the party is to alter the social order and to commit the crimes of rebellion and sedition. An association having such an object must necessarily be illegal (decision of Oct. 8, 1884, of the Supreme Court of Spain, 7 Hidalgo, Cod. Pen., 531-532.) The report submitted by Secretary Hughes to the Senate of the United States, as well as that made by Hamilton Fish, after an investigation of communism, leads to the same conclusion, namely, that force and violence are inseparable from communist programs.

"The last point made by the appellants is relative to the penalty imposed. The trial court imposed the penalty of confinamiento for the period of eight years and one day, as provided by paragraph 5, article 190 of the old Penal Code, as substituted by article 26 of the Royal Decree of September 12, 1897, in connection with articles 28 and 114 of the same Code. The appellants contend that this is erroneous because the Revised Penal Code has eliminated this kind of penalty. But there is no merit in this argument, because the act took place under the sanction of the old Code, and the penalty of confinamiento, therein provided for, is lighter than that provided by the new Code in its article 147, which is prision correccional and arresto mayor and fine.

"The judgment appealed from is affirmed, with the costs against the twenty defendants. So ordered."

VIII. THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE AS A FRONT OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Democratic Alliance, which was registered in the Commission on Elections as a political party, is shown by the evidence on hand as a united front of all the various organizations that are influenced or controlled by the Communist Party, beyond any possibility of dispute. Judge Jesus Barrera, president of the Da, who appeared before the Committee as counsel for Messrs. Luis Taruc and Jesus Lava, denied under oath any knowledge of Communism other than what is defined in the dictionary. We also denied that the Democratic Alliance has anything to do whatsoever with the Communist Party.

The Committee, however, is in possession of evidence showing that Judge Barrera is not as ignorant or uninformed about the Communist movement in this country as he had claimed.

Speaking before a gathering honoring the death of Crisanto Evangelista, cited in the Supreme Court decision above as the organizer of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Judge Barrera on December 15, 1946, revealed quite an exact measure of the kind of ideas Crisanto Evangelista represented. He said in part:

"Crisanto Evangelista is one who, like a few others died as he lived--a man of firm conviction. While many may disagree with some of his ideas and ideologies, none can question the sincerity of his convictions and the zeal and the self selflessness with which he tried to give life and reality to those convictions. Unlike others, he was not satisfied with merely entertaining ideas; he worked to set those ideas translated into action. Like many who are well-meaning, he sympathized with the under-privileged; like others, he believed in that true saying: 'Where there is union, there is strength.'

"But unlike many, he did not stop there. He worked and labored among those to whom his heart went and in his own way and in line with his own convictions, formed associations to give effect to his ideas of accomplishing the ends for which he gave a major part of his life. He is, to a great extent, the father of trade unionism in this country. He and his associates were the first to give social consciousness to our laboring class. It is therefore fitting that organized labor today, now that its influence is being brought to bear in the solution of our social problems, should pause on occasions and recall to mind those who pioneered in the endeavor and draw courage from their examples in the struggle that still lies ahead. I repeat we may not all agree to the full extent to some of his ideas but in so far as they tended to the amollioration of the lot of the common masses, to that extent we owe a debt to the early efforts of Crisanto Evangelista in awakening and giving expression to the otherwise and theretofore timorous spirit of the op-

pressed working classes." (KATUBUSAN, Organ of the Communist Party, December 23, 1946.)

In order to give the House an idea about what Crisanto Evangelista was teaching the laborers of this country, and for which Judge Barrera was grateful, we are reproducing below the bibliography of a book written by Evangelista entitled Ang ABC ng mga Anak-Pawis (The ABC of the Sons of the Sweat). The sources of the information contained in this book by Evangelista are the following:

Karl Marx: Capital.  
Karl Marx: Wage Labour and Capital.  
Friedrich Engels: Principles of Communism.  
The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.  
Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin: The State and Revolution.  
Joseph Stalin: Leninism.  
A. Berdnikov and F. Svetlov: Elements of Political Education.  
D. Ryazanov: Marx and Engels.  
A. Boddanoff: A Short Course of Political Science.  
Andres Nin: Struggle of Trade Unions against Fascism.  
C. Evangelista: Soviet Russia and Its Institutions.  
A. Lesovsky: The World's Trade Union Movement.  
Eugene V. Deb: Unionism.  
Karl Kautsky: Foundations of Christianity.  
G. M. Stokloff: The History of the First International.  
Program of Communist International.  
International Press Correspondence.  
Nicolas Bukharin: La Revolution China.  
The Soviet Union Looks Ahead—Published by the Presidium of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.  
Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin: On the Road to Insurrection.

The Committee wishes to inform the House that the foregoing sources of Communist propaganda have been flooding the country as early as 1919 or even earlier. The files of the Committee are ~~chalking~~ full with just such kind of literature. The Bureau of Customs has impounded a stock of these materials, and that office is presently studying whether these can be banned from entry into the country as prohibited importation. We shall recommend measures to the House for the purpose of having these books and pamphlets carefully analyzed and criticized in order to help those who have been mentally poisoned by them ward off their infection.

In bringing out these facts about the relationship of the Democratic Alliance with the communist movement, we do not wish to cast aspersions on the integrity of Judge Jesus Barrera. We respect his profession of innocence with any communist affiliation, and we certainly will do him honor if he will keep his word given to the Committee to check connections with these groups and persons as soon as he learns that their activities are subversive. Men like Judge Barrera, whose number are scores, and who are mouthing communist phrases without their knowing it, need to be enlightened more than to be condemned. It will be a happy day indeed for this country when these gentlemen no longer give quarters to the pretensions of this false ideology.

A careful analysis of the constitution and by-laws or platform of the Democratic Alliance reveals the fact that it has been set in on the Communist Party line almost to the period. The preamble and declaration of principles of the Da read as follows:

Preamble of the Democratic Alliance

"The members of the various anti-Japanese resistance groups, represented by their undersigned duly accredited delegates, cognizant of the profound and revolutionary changes taking place in world history affecting all nations, inspired by and drawing lessons from these changes, desiring and aspiring for themselves and their fellow-men a forward-looking government, clean, honest and truly responsive to the best interest of all; keenly aware of the existence in the country of a powerful, organized, reactionary minority which in its desire to protect its selfish, special interests, is already mobilizing and boring into the government to impede, if not altogether prevent here the progress and the spirit of self-determination that is now sweeping the whole world, and to curtail the democratic achievements already won through political struggle during the period of American tutelage and through revolutionary struggle against the fascist Japanese militarists; and finally convinced of the imperative necessity of uniting and consolidating all forces, elements and parties which have struggled or are ready to struggle for the country's national liberation and for the preservation and extension of democracy as a way of life,

"Have associated and allied themselves for the purpose of establishing a party, and do hereby ordain and proclaim this the Constitution of the Party."

Declaration of Principles of the Democratic Alliance

"1. The Democratic Alliance believes in National Unity against fascism and reaction—not in a ~~new~~ fusion of otherwise discordant elements that at best breeds mutual suspicion and disharmony. The Democratic Alliance subscribes and adheres to the late President Roosevelt's injunction that all who collaborated with the enemy, whether militarily, politically, economically or culturally, shall be at least removed from positions of political or economic influence.

"2. The Democratic Alliance stands for the Independence of the Philippines as proscribed in the Tydings-McDuffie Act and the Joint Resolution (No. 93) of the US Congress. The Democratic Alliance also advocates that the free and independent Philippines join a world organization of free nations for peace, collective security and true equality among nations.

"3. The Democratic Alliance will firmly strive to safeguard, defend and extend Democracy, political and economic, both in government and as a mode of life, by inspiring the people to participate actively and continuously in their government so that the fundamental liberties of the people shall not remain mere precepts on the statute books but effective organs for the people's welfare.

"4. The Democratic Alliance is firmly for a clean progressive government, free from secret jockeying and maneuvering for strategic government posts, and with proper and adequate safeguards against dishonesty and corruption. To secure this, the Democratic Alliance advocates elimination of secrecy in appointments and a close check-up, at proper intervals, of properties of public officials." (Underscoring original.)

Any comparison, however, of the similarity of the program of the Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance will pale to insignificance in the light of the following candid analysis of the political situation in the country during the 1946 elections. For the information of the

House we are reproducing the important portions of a communist document which was presented to us for examination. This document contains the secret political strategy of the Communist Party, revealing for the first time the conspiracy to destroy politically not only President Roxas but also ~~ex-President~~ Osmeña. These communist maneuvers led to the split within the original Nacionalista Party, and the Osmeña faction (now Rodriguez) have so compromised themselves with the Democratic Alliance that even today they find it difficult to agree on fundamental issues.

The majority members of this Committee wish to make it of record that in revealing the contents of this document they have no partisan motive. The Liberal party will not live forever; but like a jealous crew, they must see to it that when they leave the wheel of power, those who will succeed them will not smash the Ship of State to bits.

The document reads as follows:

S  
"THE UF (UNITED FRONT) AGAINST FASCISM AND THE ROLE  
OF OSMEÑA  
by VY

"I. The Struggle Against Remnants of Fascism is Still the Most Important Struggle in the Philippines.

1. US fascist section of finance capital is backing Gen. MacArthur who in turn is backing Roxas. Even after independence, the retention of military bases in the PI by the US will have the effect of helping any fascist dictatorship in the Philippines.

The ending of the war and the US military demobilization will create many problems on unemployment and internal economic struggles, and will place the Philippine internal struggle in a position of secondary importance to the US proletariat and the general progressive movement.

2. In China, the Soviet Union-Chinese Central Government Pact shows a temporary truce in the form of a coalition government between the reactionary semi-fascist Kuomintang and the CP (Communist Party). In Europe, especially in Austria, Bulgaria, Romania, Italy and other countries, the struggle is to crush the remnants of fascism by setting up UF (United Front) governments with reformists and conservatives, and progressively changing the composition of the coalition cabinet as new conditions develop.



3. In the Philippines we have not been able to crush internal fascism. The big puppets and collaborators are loose and are very active and aggressive in government circles and throughout the provinces. Most important of all, these puppets and collaborators are backed by the vested interests (Soriano, Elizalde, Madrigal, Lopez, Hemady, Ismael, etc.) and by the reactionary and fascist semi-feudal landlords. And the representative of these interests and classes is the energetic, efficient and politically dexterous Roxas who is at the same time, the favorite of the fascist finance capital represented by Roy Howard.
4. To strive for national liberation and people's democracy without thoroughly reorganizing the international conditions and the internal situation, and without focusing our energy on how internal fascism can be crushed, will be to skip one step, to jump blindly over an abyss, and to fail to gain our objective.
5. Hence, it is clear that in order to achieve national liberation and to realize a people's democracy, the most important and immediate step is to struggle against fascism, both internal and international.

## II. The Role of Roxas, Osmeña and the DA in the Present Internal Relation of Forces.

1. Roxas is definitely a fascist and collaborator, and he definitely represents the comprador, semi-feudal landlords and collaborators. Before the war, he represented Spanish, Italian, American and Japanese interests as a lawyer and in his capacity as Secretary of Finance. He, with Laurel, helped Quezon formulate the one-party system and later the no-party system borrowed from Portugal and Japan. In cabinet meetings he always aided with the reactionary members to suppress the democratic movement in Central Luzon.

During the war, altho he started as an army man and later as a guerrilla "coordinator" with his comprador friends; he later turned puppet, contrary to his promise to his friends (Assemblyman Festin and Rafael Roces, Sr.). As a puppet chairman of the Economic Planning Board, and as a cabinet member without portfolio, he helped the Japs get more rice and declare war against the US; and he misled the people to accept the Jap peace and order against the people's interests. Roxas was also rabid against the Huk in view of its Harvest Struggle and in view of its increasing strength and popularity among the masses.

After the American landing in Pangasinan, Roxas was "liberated" by MacArthur, and was thus enabled to continue his fascist career. He allied himself immediately with Soriano, Elizalde, Madrigal, Lopez, Hemady, Ismael and other comprador and semi-feudal landlords, and is now doing his best to defend the big puppets in Iwahig and the small collaborators from the criticism of the anti collaborators.

-jay

When Gov. Chioco complained to him that Osmena did not help him (Chioco) out in disarming the Huk "bandits", he replied that Osmena was a weak administrator, and that such a situation would not be tolerated by him (Roxas). Just after Japanese capitulation, when the Sixth US army was leaving Central Luzon, Roxas' paper, The Daily News appealed to the US Army to disarm the "lawless Huk Bandits". The general tone of the articles and editorials in the Roxas papers expose clearly his chauvinistic attitude towards minority peoples, his demagogic much-raking criticism of the Osmena administration, and his paying lip service to the welfare and interests of the masses.

Not only is Roxas backed financially and politically by the vested US finance capital and Filipino comprador interests and by the semi-feudal landlords, but he is also backed militarily by the great majority of the Philippine Army Officers among whom are the sons and relatives of the compradors and semi-feudal landlords. Furthermore, Montelibano, the Secretary of Defense, should be appraised more as a pro-Roxas rather than pro-Osmena; Montelibano has a fascist ideology.

2. Osmena is neither a fascist nor a collaborator. He must be considered a conservative, and in the struggle between the fascist and the anti-fascist forces, he can be expected to vacillate, as he has been doing, between the two.

Osmena is definitely a nationalist and is for independence, as opposed to Roxas, who, confidentially among his friends and colleagues, is working for postponement of independence or for a Commonwealth status; Osmena initiate the NDC, and opposed US finance capitalists proposal to increase the extent of corporation landholdings from 1024 to 10,000 hectares. Altho Osmena has the backing of the Chinese bourgeoisie, he is opposed to and opposed by the more powerful Spanish compradores and semi-feudal landlords.

Osmena's defeat by Quezon since 1922, must be ascribed not to Quezon's greater personality or ability, as to Osmena's timidity in helping US finance capital and the then growing and aggressive comprador bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. And until now this is his main weakness, as compared to Roxas position.

Even before the war, the rivalry for leadership between Roxas and Osmena had already existed. The death of Quezon clarified the cleavage of social forces backing each of them: Roxas inherited the vested interests and semi-feudal landlords together with the masses under their influence; and Osmena inherited the more nationalistic and more honest masses among the middle classes and the workers and peasantry under the influence of the old Nacionalista Party. The fact that Osmena, unlike Roxas, has up till now, no newspapers which support him, is the best proof that no vested interests are backing him.

Objectively, therefore, Osmena must look for support, not from the vested interests and semi-feudal landlords, but from the middle classes and the nationalist bourgeoisie which are our secondary reserves. If Osmena wants to win power, (and he is determined to become President) he is bound to come to us and seek our support.

-jay

x x x x x x x x x

Considering that the province of Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Tarlac are essentially Huk territory, that the Huk has certain influence in Laguna and Tayabas, and together with DA (Democratic Alliance) has influence in Manila, that the Blue Eagle is fairly strong in Camarines Sur and Batangas, and has considerable influence in Albay and Cavite, it is clear that the DA will play an important role in swinging the balance of power in the coming election. And it is clear that with time, Osmena will be forced to come to us and seek our support. x x x x

III. The Role and Tactics of the Vanguard of the Proletariat in the coming Elections.

1. It is clear from our discussion in I, that in order to achieve national liberation and to realize a people's democracy, the most important and immediate task of the Party (Communist) is to lead the struggle against fascism, both internal and international, and to forge a United Front of all anti-fascist forces within the country.

And it is clear from our discussion in II, that Osmena does not have the backing of the vested interests and the semi-feudal landlords, and in view of his weakness due to this fact and to the fact that the old Quezon machinery of state has been smashed, he will be forced to seek support from the organized anti-fascist forces represented essentially by the DA.

In our desire to smash fascism and in Osmena's desire to become President such an objective situation as the following, therefore, exists: we are forced to support Osmena and Osmena is forced to support us.

2. Even if Osmena were to be a thorough reactionary and would cleverly withhold all the democratic concessions from the masses, it will be necessary to support him as long as we can see that he is out to defeat Roxas and the vested comprador and landlord interests Roxas represents, and as long as he (Osmena) does not make any attempt to destroy our organization and our political independence.

But a Bolshevik Party does not give concessions to a non-proletarian class or a group without struggle to get some concessions in return. He is where the determination of individual day to day tactics has to be well planned. Here, mass demonstrations and demands, and diplomatic representation and pressure must be

made the order of the day and must be well-coordinated. Populization of the economic plight of the broad masses, how they can be solved and how Osmeña can help in solving these problems, as opposed to the fascist solution by Roxas and his classes, would create a solidarity of the anti-fascist forces and at the same time force the Osmeña administration to take action in giving broader and broader concessions to the masses. This is how we win Osmeña away from Roxas to our side. And this is the way we push Osmeña to give more and more democratic concessions to the masses.

And it is clear that any attempt to close the door of our support to Osmeña, to make him feel that he cannot expect anything from us, will drive him to the lap of the collaborators, compradors and semi-foual landlords, and finally pave the way for a fascist dictatorship in the Philippines.

3. With the above, we are now ready to discuss the question of launching the D.A. presidential candidate. Objectively, there are reasons for believing that the Philippine people are tired of the Nacionalista Party as a whole and of Roxas and Osmeña in particular, and could be easily convinced to vote for a third Presidential candidate. We note this mass temper in many sections of Manila and in Central Luzon, and it is probably that similar situation obtain in the rest of the Philippines.

But the mere fact that we actually do not know the situation in the many provinces of the Philippines outside of Central Luzon and Manila is the best proof of our subjective weakness. We need cadres to go to these provinces and contact the possible leaders of the opposition against the Nacionalista Party. We need cadres to organize and educate these opposition leaders for a U.F. (United Front) against the Nacionalista Party. We need pamphlets and leaflets explaining the people's present plight, and how the Nacionalista Party in conjunction with foreign fascists brought them down to this degraded level of existence. And we need transportation facilities to enable our cadres and friends to go to the remotest barrios in the quickest possible manner. All these minimum election requirements, not to speak of those higher requirements to teach the masses thru mass education in struggle, we do not have and cannot expect to have within the next six months or even within the next year. In brief, due to our subjective weakness, we are not in a position to win the presidential election by putting up a third party candidate.

Because of this impossibility of a third candidate winning in the next election, and because of the imperative necessity to smash fascism and to utilize Osmeña in smashing fascism, we must therefore pose the question of launching the D.A. presidential candidate in the following manner:

Knowing that we need Osmeña to prevent the election of Roxas and thereby to smash Fascism, should we utilize the launching of D.A.

presidential candidate to force Osmeña to grant more democratic concessions to the masses? In my opinion we should not do so for the following reasons:

- a) Knowing that many members of even the highest organ, while verbally accepting the difference between Roxas and Osmeña, lead the Party members and mass organizations in practical education and propaganda to the belief that there is actually no difference between the two, the effect of putting up a Presidential candidate will be to thoroughly erase in the mind of the masses the distinction between Roxas and Osmeña, and to make it impossible for the Party or the D.A. to swing the masses to Osmeña just before the election. In fact, such an attempt on the part of the Party or D.A. will tend to disillusion the masses in the sincerity of the Party and the D.A. The result will be to elect Roxas to strengthen fascism a hundred fold, to destroy out mass organizations, to further curtail our civil liberties, and to push our economic progress backward.
- b) Even assuming that the Party (Communist) and the D.A. can put clearly the distinction between Roxas and Osmeña on the question of fascism, we should expect a great portion of the unpoliticalized masses which will turn to the D.A. candidate, to disregard our final appeal before the elections to vote for Osmeña, on the ground that they are voting for the right man (i.e., D.A.) even if the D.A. candidate cannot win. When we further consider that transportation facilities will make it difficult to convey to the masses our day-to-day propaganda and our decision to withdraw the D.A. candidate and to appeal to the masses to vote for Osmeña, we must conclude that to launch a D.A. candidate will merely end up in confusing the masses and in electing Roxas.
- c) It is possible to win Osmeña away from Roxas and to push Osmeña to grant more democratic concessions to the masses, without launching the D.A. presidential candidate.

The individual tactics which should be pursued for this purpose, should be to continuously and persistently stage mass demonstrations, pickets, etc., and to send delegations of these to Osmeña demanding concrete concessions. These should be coordinated with separate diplomatic representatives pressing Osmeña to grant these concessions in order to win the masses away from Roxas.

In the election campaign, our line should be patterned after the following:

"Countrymen: we are faced with a difficult situation. The Japanese with the help of the puppets and collaborators have robbed us of our liberties and our food, and have destroyed our homes and our economic structure. Even after their defeat, we are faced with the problems of our reconstruction and rehabilitation. We have to have shelters and sanitation, wages must be increased,

the prices of the goods we buy must be lowered, the tenants' share in the harvest must be increased, land must be given to peasants and for this purpose the government must buy the big landed estates for distribution to the peasants at prices payable within 25 years; we must increase the nation's purchasing power by industrializing the country; we must guarantee minimum hours and collective bargaining; immediate relief for the widows and orphans of the guerrillas must be given, and for this purpose, the properties of the collaborators must be confiscated; public works must be immediately carried out on a national scale, and there should be no discrimination in the hiring of workers, etc.

"All these we want carried out. But, countrymen, we cannot have these demands granted to us under a fascist regime. We already know what Japanese fascism did to us. Many of you are familiar with German and Italian fascism, and with Spanish and Portuguese fascism. In the Philippines the banner of fascism is being carried by Roxas, the man who is backed by the fascist vested interest, (Soriano, etc.), by the reactionary and fascist semi-feudal landlords, and by the reactionary and fascist finance capitalists of the U.S., who are also backing MacArthur. If you vote for Roxas, you vote for fascism, and if he wins, we will have the same conditions as the Japs introduced during the occupation.

"Osmeña is not a progressive man. He is slow, and he even compromise with the fascists at times. His cabinet is a weak cabinet composed mainly of bureaucrats. If the D.A. could be sure the candidate it launches can be popularized in all the provinces, and if the D.A. could explain to the people the need for a complete change in the government administration, the D.A. would be certain to win if it launches its presidential candidate; and the D.A. will have no need of supporting Osmeña. But, unfortunately, this is not the fact. And we must therefore look at the situation more realistically. If the D.A. candidate cannot win and Osmeña cannot win, then Roxas will win - and this means fascism of the Japanese or Spanish brand.

"We may not like Osmeña, but he is certainly better than Roxas. He is for independence, while Roxas is not. He is not backed by the vested interests and unlike Roxas, he does not owe them favors which he will have to repay at the expense of the people. Osmeña's program in the past included the establishment of the government-owned National Development Co., and he prevented the American vested interests from changing our land law which granted 1024 hectares to private corporations to increase the landholding to 10,000 hectares.

"In view of the serious situation now confronting us, we must, above all, prevent Roxas from becoming President. Even if the D.A. is not thoroughly satisfied with Osmeña, it is appealing to the D.A. members and to all the people to vote for Osmeña, just

so that fascism may not again show its ugly face in the Philippines. A vote against Osmeña is a vote for fascism."

IV. Critique of Com(rade) Dick's: Our Policy Towards Osmeña, and of Com(rade) Tom's: The Present UF (United Front) Policy.

1. The CC (Central Committee of the Communist Party) June conference did not merely direct the PB (Political Bureau) to send a committee to interview Osmeña, but a committee from a mass demonstration. The object of this committee was to get a better picture of Osmeña and his ideas and probable policy, in order that the PB (Political Bureau of the Communist Party) may the more concretely adopt a policy in dealing with him. Originally, this committee from the mass demonstration was scheduled for July, but it was later postponed for August and later for Sept.

While the mass demonstration was correctly postponed to gain more time for preparation, VY considers the postponement of the time for adopting a more concrete policy towards Osmeña as also favorable for making him take a more concrete stand against Roxas.

Elsewhere (see 16), Com. Dick points out that to form an independent presidential ticket earlier would have been better, as Osmeña in his fear of isolation would have come to us. On the contrary, before the rift with Roxas was so great, and in view of the great pressure of MacArthur and many Nationalists leaders during the period of his arrival to the end of the war to have a fusion between the two of them, Osmeña might have given more concessions to Roxas, as he had already been doing then, knowing that he would already have had no hopes with the organized anti-collaborators.

If some of the masses and if some party members are criticizing the PB for "lack of a clear line" and for "much time being lost", we must lay the responsibility to the Educational workers who have not popularized the June resolution on Osmeña, and to these same workers (notably Com. Dick and Lydia) for propagating to the party members that there is hardly any difference between Roxas and Osmeña and for therefore misleading them into concluding that the only way out is for the party to put up third candidates. This is contrary to discipline, and the comrades responsible must be given disciplinary action.

4. Com. Dick says that to "re-establish the pre-war order is a reactionary step" and implies that Osmeña when elected can establish this pre-war order. Com. Dick's error is in thinking of Osmeña as an individual, and not in terms of the relation of class forces which have become more favorable for the proletariat. Com. Dick's second error is in thinking that in the process of establishing a people's democracy, we can neglect the fight against fascism. The immediate task of the Party, therefore is to rout Roxas and his compradors and semi-feudal landlords in the elections, by exposing the demagogic and fascist character of their position, and by continuously and persistently leading the broad masses in

their demands for housing and sanitation, higher wages, lower prices, land and democratic industrialization. How can we "set up a people's democracy of all anti-fascist classes", if we neglect the fight against fascism and allow Roxas and the classes he represents, (to) win in the elections? (Also see Com. Dick's 7, which emphasizes national liberation and people's democracy, and forgets fascism.)

5. Com. Dick says that Osmeña's "appointments are designed to re-establish the power of collaborators", and that his attitude towards independence "is to convert" the Philippines into a semi-colony of the US". These are not true. How can Osmeña become president if he re-establishes the power of collaborators who are for Roxas? And Com. Dick must have forgotten the strength of US imperialism in forcing Osmeña to accept the military bases. And what does Com. Dick think of the new People's Court which is now being forced upon Congress by the Osmeña administration, and which is now being sabotaged by Roxas and other congressional collaborators in true fascist style?

The manner in which that paragraph has been written smacks very much of intellectual dishonesty.

6. In the June plenum Com. Dick states that Roxas and Osmeña are merely different sides of a coin. Now he recognizes that we cannot regard Osmeña in the same way that we regard Roxas. Thus, Com. Dick recognizes that Osmeña is personally more progressive than Roxas, or that Osmeña is being forced to become more progressive.
- (7). But Com. Dick, in considering Osmeña as a rival leader to be "exposed", and not merely being "criticized", forgets the meaning of the UP against fascism, and forges that such people and classes as those represented by Roxas, (compradors, feudal landlords and collaborators), exist.
8. Com. Dick is merely paying lip service to the difference between Roxas and Osmeña. There can be achieved no practical difference between them if Com. Dick "exposes" or "isolates" both of them. In practice, "extermination" of Roxas will be the same as the "isolation" of Osmeña.
9. Com. Dick would be making a correct statement, if it were not for the fact that Fascism is still the immediate danger. Our electoral tactics should be to make the people aware of the internal fascist danger, and to unite them to smash fascism.
10. This is deliberate misinterpretation. VY's direction of the main blow is Roxas and his class or classes; this means that the class which is to be uncompromisingly exposed and isolated is that of Roxas. VY considers Osmeña and his class as belonging to that vacillating UP group against fascism, with which it is permissible to make compromise off and on. Com. Dick does not understand the meaning of the direction of the main blow.



In June when the situation was not very clear and there was the possibility of Osmeña and Roxas compromising with each other, our task was to win Osmeña away from Roxas by showing our independent political strength and by friendly diplomatic overtures to him and to his leaders. Any attitude of deliberate alienation of Osmeña and his leaders would have been criminally sectarian.

11. It is amazing that after more than 60% of the discussion on national liberation and people's democracy, Com. Dick should condescend to mention the anti-fascist struggle. But then immediately Dick takes one away from amazement and brings him down to earth again by implying that any attempt to push Osmeña against the collaborators means to wait on Osmeña and be the tailist to him, means to consider Osmeña as the primary force against fascism. Com. Dick cannot understand how by our pushing Osmeña, we lead him and are not led by him.

In fact, real tailism is to put up a third candidate because an unpoliticalized electorate clamors for one.

12. VY should not have said that we would support Osmeña if he comes over to us. What VY should have said, is that in order to crush fascism we should support Osmeña with or without concessions from him, as long as he does not destroy our mass organizations and our political independence.

The tactics of supporting him and at the same time to get as many democratic concessions from him as possible, should be a separate question and should be discussed, as individual tactics within the general tactic of supporting the Osmeña candidacy to crush fascism.

13. In quoting VY's statement, Com. Dick implies that VY meant that we should remain passive about Osmeña; and after the masses are disillusioned, to expose Osmeña. What VY said was that we should lead the masses to make demands from Osmeña and lead them sooner or later into disillusionment after the Roxas defeat. This is the opposite of tailism to the masses which Com. Dick accuses VY of.
14. The confusion of the masses which Com. Dick accused the PB of fostering must be ascribed to his sectarian propaganda after the June resolution containing the compromise. (See Katubusan editorial). VY should not have made even the small compromise in June which now Com. Dick is trying to enlarge and distort.
15. Com. Dick's statement that the D.A. leads the PB as shown by the Malolos rally, only indicates that the DA directorate understands better the difference between uncompromising exposure (direction of the main blow), and criticism with "off and on" compromises with other parties and classes.
16. Com. Dick's logic is not characterized by clear thinking. In (6) Dick implies that Osmeña and Roxas do not represent the same class, but in (18) he implies that they represent the same class and are backed by the same classes.

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Dick has nothing to say in case Roxas wins power except to state that the relation of forces will be so changed that Roxas cannot establish a fascist dictatorship. This is pure irresponsibility, without analyzing the present conditions and relation of forces, Com. Dick dismisses the possibility of Roxas presidential victory and considers it as something that will be favorable to the proletariat. This sounds like Norman Thomas and other social democrats and like the Trotskyites shouting: "let the people suffer from fascism. Then they will turn to revolution."

- "B.1. Com. Tom bases the need for uncompromising exposure of Osmeña (as the direction of the main blow, with Roxas), on Osmeña's destruction of the democratic councils established by Huk, on his appointment of collaborators and on his dismissal of anti-collaborators. If these be his fixed policy, how can we explain his most recent struggle to establish the People's Court and to prevent the Roxas supporters in Congress from emasculating this administration bill?

We must look upon Osmeña as a vacillating man, with the vested comprador interests and the semi-feudal landlord support taken away from him by Roxas, and with no assurance of support from any particular class, except whatever element he inherited from Quezon. To appraise him in this way, is to open the tactical possibilities for us of winning him further away from Roxas and forcing him to grant democratic concessions to the masses in return for their support; i.e. to utilize him in our UP struggle against fascism.

2. Com. Tom admits (See Com. Tom's 7) that the main link of the present struggle is the struggle against collaborators, and puts the slogan "UP against fascist Remnants" as the first slogan. In this sense his position is more correct than Com. Dick's. But not having appraised Osmeña correctly, he falls into the same error as Com. Dick does, and lumps him with Roxas as the direction of the main blow.

These tactics and strategy are by no means original in the Philippines, nor was this the first time that they have been applied here. From documents presented to the Committee we learned that such methods are called "trojan Horse Tactics" and these were adopted after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 when it was decided to abandon the openly revolutionary activities of the Communist Parties and to resort to subterfuges. A statement attributed to Georgi Dimitrov, then secretary general of the Communist International and now premier of Bulgaria, reads as follows:

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"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan Horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics. (Union calendar No. 2, U.S. House Report No. 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, p. 27.)

In reporting on the present-day tactics of the Communist Party of the United States the Special Committee on un-American Activities stated the following with respect to the use of political coalitions as means of influencing the major political parties in the United States:

"In the former tactics of the Communist Party it was the invariable rule to place its own unmistakably labeled candidates before the electorate. It was easy then for the voter to make his choice between Communist and non-Communist candidates. Today, however, there are new tactics. The communist Party has adopted the practice of boring from within the major political parties. It presents its candidates to the public with Democratic and Republican labels, with grave political confusion resulting.

"It is one of the major aims of the Communist International, in the present world situation, to form what are called People's Fronts. In both Spain and France this aim has been achieved, with consequences known to all the world. This same aim dominates the present strategy of the Communist Party in the United States, and it is toward the formation of the People's Front here that the Communists have adopted the practice of entering their political candidates with the labels of the two major parties.

"The strategy of the Communist Party looks toward the eventual formation of a national farmer-labor party in the United States. While remaining a relatively small minority within such a farmer-labor party, the Communists would nevertheless seek to dominate the whole of it. The theory behind such political coalitions is to divide American political thought along class lines, with the avowed object of intensifying and embittering class conflict. All of this the Communists conceive to be a necessary prelude to class warfare and the final emergence of its dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The Communist Party aims especially at the disintegration and final destruction of liberal political parties by making within those parties a coalition with political elements which are working for a planned economy even though they do not use any one of the European labels for such economy." (Union Calendar No. 2, U.S. House Report No. 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 30-31.)

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The prewar counterpart of the present Democratic Alliance in the Philippines was the Popular Front Party which was originally established by the Communist under the leadership of the late Pedro Abad Santos. This party, however, did not gain any formidable political strength because the Nationalista Party then could not be courted into any coalition. In fact, the Popular Front was reduced to almost political impotence when the late Sen. Juan Sumulong, who saw through the sinister aims of the Popular Front, wisely succeeded in claiming leadership over a larger portion of it.

The present situation in the Philippines, however, is quite different. The majority members of the committee desires to express the Liberal Party's belief in the existence of two political parties as an imperative necessity for the proper functioning of the democratic processes in this country. We wish to extend our fraternal warning to the Nationalista Party that they can never fully exercise the prerogatives of an opposition so long as their ranks are shot through with elements whose politics are switched in with the revolutionary program of the Communist Party.

Your Committee will be recreant to its duty if it did not convey the same warning to this House and the Nation that there is today in this country a network of subversion, of which the Democratic Alliance is only its political woof; and unless this House provides a means for the proper investigation and exposure of the pernicious activities

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of these bodies, Congress, and for that matter all the coordinate branches of the existing system of government, may one day wake up to find itself in the iron grip of the Communists.

Numerous other evidence and sources of information can be presented by your Committee to show the viciousness of the Communist methods of subverting our democratic institutions. These cannot, however, be contained here without unnecessarily enlarging this report.

#### IX. THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON FORCE AND VIOLENCE

Aside from examining evidence with respect to the commission of actual physical force and violence in the Central Luzon provinces, not only during the elections but also before and after, your Committee also looked into the ideological background of these activities. It appears from the records that such acts are inseparable from the whole Communist philosophy. The evidence presented to us show that the doctrines of the Communist Party and the Communist International provoke and encourage the commission of force and violence.

Although the following citations are culled from a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, some of their original sources are in the files of your Committee:

"In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat (Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848)!"

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"The epoch of imperialism is an epoch of open clashes between classes, of direct preparations by the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of the proletarian revolutions (Otto Kuusinen, 1934.)

"Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians--the grave diggers of the capitalist order--the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the 'organizer of the international proletarian revolution' (Program of the Communist International, together with its Constitution, 1936).

"The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters (ibid),

"This mass action includes: A combination of strikes and demonstrations, a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations, and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie (ibid).

"The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat 'your own' imperialist government x x x (ibid).

"The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle (A. Losovsky, 1934).

"Lenin also knew that the establishment of the proletarian power is impossible without a violent revolution, x x x (ibid).

"For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a 'civil war', and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war (Lenin, 1918)

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"The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising (Theses and Statutes of the Third International, 1920).

"Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world (Constitution and Program of Communist Party of America, 1921)

"The means of struggle are--all the forms of mass struggle, including the highest form, armed insurrection (I. Kemer, Ten Years of the Communist International, 1929).

"We explain to the workers, and we teach the workers that only by violence finally can a revolution be accomplished. All revolutions have been accomplished by force and violence (William Z. Foster, 1930).

"If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerrilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war (Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, 1928).

jgm "There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle (ibid).

"Lenin is therefore right in saying: 'The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois state machine and its replacement by a new one (Stalin, 1934).

"We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist state, and that is to smash it by force. To make communism possible the workers must take hold of the state machinery of capitalism and destroy it (N.J. Olgin, Why Communism? 1935).

The foregoing documentation was taken from the Appendix, Part 1, of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities entitled "A Compilation of Original Sources Used As Exhibits to Show the Nature and Aims of the Communist Party, Its Connections With the U.S.S.R. and Its Advocacy of Force and Violence," which was cited in its Report No. 1, 77th Congress, 1st Session, pages 15 to 18.

Your Committee will now present for your appreciation, excerpts from a CIC report, AFWESPAC, dated October 31, 1945, which more or less reveal in compact form the prevailing program of activity of the Communist Party and its subsidiary organizations. The report speaks of a convention held by the Communist Party in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, wherein decisions were made, among which were the following:

"a. A resolution to the 'high organ' requesting that an understanding with the leaders of the international movement be informed of the situation in the Philippines with the suggestion that in case of war between the United States and Russia the Philippine Communist and labor elements should not be expected to rise in arms against the capitalist government but instead will use only politics in the control of the government.

"b. Firearms in the hands of the HUKBALAHAPS should not be surrendered to the government as the mere knowledge of the surrender of the HUKS' firearms will be enough to encourage the reactionaries in crushing their power. The firearms value to the movement is psychological.



jgm "c. Armed HUKS should operate in groups of four and five specially in barrios and territories near MP stations.

"d. The killing of reactionaries, specially those who deserted the HUKS and other similar organizations, will be practised to serve as a reminder to others who are inclined to desert to the side of the government.

"e. Intelligence men should be planted in key offices of the government like the MP, governors' office and the PA.

"f. Propagandists and organizers should be instructed to remind all people that the war is far from ended.

"g. The DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE will be the front in all public campaigns for membership.

"h. The armed forces of the HUKBALAHAP will not assemble in big bands so that the government will have no chance to charge them of armed rebellion. The leaders do not like that the HUKBALAHAP or the COMMUNIST PARTY will be outlawed."

#### X. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Before your Committee recapitulates its findings and makes  
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recommendations with regard to the disposition of the case of the respondent six (6) DA members, as well as with respect to remedial measures that should be adopted by the Nation to protect itself against the incursions of Communism and other subversive movements, it is important that we lay bare the fundamental principles which govern the conduct of our people. This is necessary, not only to enable us to decide this serious matter dispassionately and without partisan motive, but also because those tenets of what we call democracy are today being assailed everywhere in the world. It is imperative that these ideas be once more crystalized; cleared, as it were, of the dust of confusion that have been deliberately poured over them to alienate mankind from itself.

It is the good fortune of the people of this country, to have been associated with the United States of America. True, America came to this country and exercised sovereign authority over us through armed conquest. But that was only in the begin-

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ning, and no matter how unjustified were the American conditions in 1898, these have since been sublimated and far outweighed by the splendid record of American administration of our affairs.

Against the bitter vituperations of the perennial critics of Americanism, the people of this country, more than any other people, are perhaps the best qualified to defend the principles upon which Americanism is based. Because of these principles America came to this country, and left, without in any single instance violating the will of our people. The secret of her success in her tutorship in the democratic way of life over these islands has been her one and consistent effort to respect the existing institutions of our people; establishing laws that operate progressively along and not against our natural instincts and desires.

Americanism or the American way of life is today being bitterly attacked not only in the United States, but also in this country. Our people are being made to believe that in seeking the destruction of Americanism they are not seeking their own destruction; which is not true, because, the destruction of Americanism will not only wipe out America but also everything for which the Filipinos have fought for over four hundred years.

We submit that America does not have, nor does it claim to have, a monopoly over these principles. That these principles were first discovered and formulated in America, and given life and development over that vast continent, was only an accident; and that were the American people to discard Americanism today, the people of this country, the Filipinos, will continue to cherish and fight for its preservation in their midst.

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In the United States as in the Philippines, the problem that confronts the people is the preservation, and not the restoration, of these principles. The incursions of the undemocratic and inhuman principles of Communism have not yet seriously affected the smooth functioning of the government machinery, although in the Philippines, unlike in the United States, the Administration is forced to resort to the use of military arms to assert its authority.

Your Committee believes that the problem here is not insoluble, and to the extent that we are able to follow the democratic methods of America in preserving her institutions, to that extent will we succeed in preserving our own.

For the information of this House and the Nation, we are reproducing in considerable length portions of House Report No. 2 of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, 76th Congress, 1st Session, concerning the definition of Americanism as contrasted with communism, fascism, and mazi-ism, as well as a brief history of Communism as an international revolutionary movement and its relation to the Communist Party of the United States.

Your Committee wishes to emphasize the imperative necessity of creating a similar investigating body in this country, not only because America finds the need for it, but also because the evidence shows that American Communists are staging their activities here. It is important that while on the one hand we have extended mutual privileges to the United States we should coordinate our efforts on the other in maintaining each others internal security. There should be free exchange of information between our two countries; and there is no harm in creating identical bodies for the purpose of organizing identical information on identical un-American and un-Filipino activities.

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The Special Committee on un-American Activities was created on May 26, 1938, by virtue of House Resolution 282, which authorized the Speaker "to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

The committee submitted its report on January 3, 1939 and among other things the following are contained:

#### WHAT ARE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

##### (A) Americanism Defined

In order to determine what activities and propaganda are un-American, we must first define Americanism. No scientific definition will be attempted, but we will undertake to set forth in simple and understandable language what some of the chief principles of Americanism are. In the first place, Americanism is the recognition of the truth that the inherent and fundamental rights of men are derived from God and not from governments, societies, dictators, kings, or majorities. This basic principle of Americanism is expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where our immortal forefathers said that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, chief among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. From this declaration and the well-established interpretations that have been put upon it from the beginning of the Republic down to the present moment,

it is clear that Americanism recognizes the existence of a God and the all-important fact that the fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from any other source. Among these inalienable rights which are the gifts of man from his Creator are: (1) Freedom of worship; (2) freedom of speech; (3) freedom of press; (4) freedom of assemblage; (5) freedom to work in such occupation as the experience, training, and qualifications of a man may enable him to secure and hold; (6) freedom to enjoy the fruits of his work, which means the protection of property rights; (7) the right to pursue his happiness with the implication that he does not harm or injure others in the pursuit of this happiness. Upon this basic principle, the whole structure of the American Government was constructed. The system of checks and balances in the Constitution was wisely conceived and ingeniously constructed to provide every possible guaranty that every citizen of the United States would enjoy and retain his God-given rights. First, the Federal Government was specifically enjoined from exercising any power that was not expressly or by necessary implication granted to it in the Constitution. Second, such powers as the Federal Government was authorized to wield were wisely distributed between the three great departments, the executive, the legislative and the judicial. The essence of Americanism is therefore class, religious, and racial tolerance. It should be emphasized in the strongest language possible that the maintenance of these three forms of tolerance is essential to the preservation of Americanism. They constitute the three great pillars upon which our constitutional Republic rests, and if any one of these pillars is destroyed, the whole structure of the American system of government will crumble to the earth. Therefore, the man who advocates class hatred is plainly un-American even if he professes racial and religious tolerance. The converse of this proposition is equally true. It is as un-American to hate one's neighbor who has more of this world's material goods as it is to hate him because he was born into another race or worships God according to a different faith.

The American Government was established to guarantee the enjoyment of these fundamental rights. It therefore follows that in America the Government is the servant of the people. The rights of the people are protected through laws and their strict enforcement. For this reason, law and order are essential to the preservation of Americanism while lawlessness and violence are distinctly un-American.

Americanism means the recognition of the God-given rights of man and the protection of these rights under the Constitution through the instrumentality of an independent Congress, an untrammelled judiciary, and a fair and impartial Executive operating under the American system of checks and balances. Americanism likewise means the protection of an unorganized majority from an organized minority as well as the protection of a helpless minority from an inconsiderate and thoughtless majority.

The characteristic which distinguishes our Republic from the dictatorships of the world is not majority rule but the treatment of minorities. Dictatorships muster huge majorities at the polls, through intimidation and high-powered government propaganda, but these majorities are used for ruthless tyranny

over minorities. The majority rule of the American form of government is distinguished by its recognition of certain rights of minorities which majorities cannot alienate.

All of these definitions of Americanism are based upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

(B) AMERICANISM CONTRASTED WITH COMMUNISM, FASCISM, AND NAZI-ISM

The simplest and at the same time the most correct definition of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism is that they all represent forms of dictatorship which deny the divine origin of the fundamental rights of man. Since all of these forms of dictatorship deny the divine origin of the rights of man, they assume and exercise the power to abridge or take away any or all of these rights as they see fit. In Germany, Italy, and Russia, the state is everything; the individual nothing. The people are puppets in the hands of the ruling dictators. Rights which we have come to regard as elementary, such as freedom in its sevenfold aspect, either do not exist or if they do exist to any degree are subject to the whims and caprice of the ruling dictators. In all of these countries where these philosophies of government hold sway, the citizen has no rights that the government is required to respect or protect. While the foundation of Americanism is class, racial, and religious tolerance, and the foundation of communism is class hatred. Americanism is a philosophy of government based upon the belief in God as the supreme Ruler of the Universe; Nazi-ism, fascism, and communism are pagan philosophies of government which either deny, as in the case of the communist, or ignore as in the case of the fascist and nazi, the existence and divine authority of God. Since nazi-ism, fascism, and communism are materialistic and pagan, hatred is encouraged. Since Americanism is religious, tolerance is the very essence of its being.

C O M M U N I S M

(A) Principles

Communism may be defined as an organized movement which works for the overthrow by force or violence of the governments of countries which are not yet under the control of the Communists, and establishment in place thereof of (a) a regime termed proletarian dictatorship, and (b) an economic system based upon the substitution of communal ownership of property for private ownership.

Communism is a world-wide political organization advocating: (1) the abolition of all forms of religion; (2) the destruction of private property and the abolition of inheritances; (3) absolute social and racial equality; (4) revolution under the leadership of the Communist International; (5) engaging in activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war; (6) destruction of all forms of representative or democratic government, including civil liberties

such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage; (7) the ultimate objective of world revolution to establish the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into a universal union of soviet socialist republics with its capital at Moscow; (8) the achievement of these ends through extreme appeals to hatred.

The Communists, like the Nazis and Fascists, believe and advocate that it is the duty of government to support the people and the right of government to exact blind obedience on all matters from the people. All three of these systems seek to regiment the people under bureaucratic and paternalistic governments through a system of planned economy. In the place of individual initiative, ambition, and effort, they seek to establish a collectivism which will transform the individual into a slave of the state. Intolerance and hatred are preached in order to gain the people's adherence to the collectivistic philosophy, and the promise of economic security is constantly dangled before their eyes to lure them into slavery. The economic security of collectivism is the security of a prison. People are asked to sacrifice their fundamental rights in return for the false promise that they will gain material comfort and economic security.

It follows, therefore, that communism is diametrically opposed to Americanism. It also follows that a scheme or philosophy of government or a teaching which embraces all or any essential part of the principles of communism is un-American. From a consideration of the above principles, it would appear that the following conclusions are ~~are~~ justified: (1) Any organization or individual who believes in or teaches the destruction of our sevenfold freedom is un-American; (2) any organization or individual who preaches or promotes class, religious or racial hatred is un-American; (3) any organization or individual believes in or advocates the destruction of the God-given rights of man is un-American; (4) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates disrespect for or the violent overthrow of our constituted authorities is un-American; (5) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates a system of political, economic, or social regimentation based upon a planned economy is un-American; (6) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates the destruction of the American system of checks and balances with its three independent coordinate branches of government is un-American.

It must be borne always in mind, however, that, unlike Russia, Germany, or Italy, Americanism permits American citizens to believe in, advocate, and teach doctrines which are contrary to it. In America, citizens have a right to believe in and advocate communism, facism, nazi-ism, or any other system of government that they approve, subject to certain restrictions and regulations which in nowise destroy the principles of freedom. In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the right to teach or advocate communism, facism, or nazi-ism does not extend to aliens who occupy the status of guests and can be de-

ported under such laws as Congress may see fit to enact.

While Congress does not have the power to deny to citizens the right to believe in, teach, or advocate, communism, fascism, and nazi-ism, it does have the right to focus the spotlight of publicity upon their activities and to outlaw any organization which is found to be under the control of, or subject to the dictation of a foreign government. Congress also has the right to require such organizations to make periodic reports to some governmental agency which shall furnish detailed information with regard to the true names of the members of such organizations, the amount of money collected, from whom collected, and the manner in which the money is expended.

### (B) History

Manifests of the Communist Party.--Modern communism begins with the Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels which appeared in January 1848. The manifesto, which is also the bible of modern socialism, is, therefore, an important world document, as it is the foundation of the struggle of the working class for industrial and political emancipation.

To comprehend either communism or its half-brother, socialism, it is essential to understand the main principles enunciated by Marx and Engels. When the manifesto made its first appearance in the world the proletarian movement was confined to a limited field of operation. The basic thought underlying the manifesto is as follows:

"The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles, incessant warfare between the exploited and exploiter, between oppressed classes and ruling classes of various stages in the evolution of society; the struggle has now reached a stage of development when the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) cannot free itself from the dominion of the exploiting and ruling class (the bourgeoisie) without at one and the same time and forever ridding society of exploitation, oppression, and class struggles."

Engels stated later that Marx, and Marx alone, was the originator of this fundamental thought. The guiding motif of the manifesto is "Proletarians of all lands, unite."

The concluding paragraph reads:

"Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole existing social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite."

First International.--The First International Association



of workers based partially on the manifesto, was established on September 28, 1864, at St. James Hall, London, largely through the efforts of Karl Marx, and was known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of workers reads as follows:

"That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class its elf; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations for the abolition of every kind of class domination."

The First International survived for only 9 years. In 1872 Marx withdrew his support because the anarchists were becoming too powerful and he was bitterly opposed to them, as they were against any system of government including that proposed by Marx. We preferred to pull down the house he himself had built rather than left the anarchist element control.

Second International.-- The Second International was formed at Paris in 1889, 6 years after Marx's death, but it was based more firmly on his doctrines than the First International and became the fountain-head of international socialism.

The World War (I) led to a temporary disruption of the Second International, as the Socialists, with few exceptions, put patriotism before their party doctrines. The Second International is still in existence but was repudiated by the extreme radical element, of which Nicholas Lenin, a Russian disciple of Marx who had been exiled for revolutionary activities, was the leader.

Abdication of the Czar and formation of provisional government. There is still considerable misunderstanding regarding the part played by the Communists in forcing the abdication of the Czar in March 1917, and in the creation of the provisional government. The fact is that the Communists played practically a part in the overthrow of the Czar's government. When Czar Nicholas II abdicated he did so to the representatives of the Duma, elected by the people. At that time Lenin was in Exile in Switzerland and Trotsky was living in the Bronx, N.Y., and most the other leading Communist were either in exile from Russia or in the prison camps of Siberia.

No matter how justifiable a revolution against the Czar's regime may have been, no credit can be claimed by the Communists in order to secure sympathy from liberals thruout the world. The provisional government, composed of liberal members of the Duma and headed by Prince Lvev, took over the control of Russia. The United States was the first nation to recognize the provisional government of Russia, which was organized on the same democratic principles as our own.

The Communists, under instructions from Lenin and Trotsky, prepared carefully for an armed revolt and, when they struck the first blow on October 25, 1917 (old Russian Calendar; Nov. 7, our calendar), there were probably not more than 30,000 Communists in all of Russia; yet with the help of thousands of deserters from the army and the navy they quickly routed the demoralized forces of the provisional government, driving Kerensky into exile and seizing the control.

of the entire government. Members of the former government were either killed or exiled. The constituent assembly, which had been called by the Kerensky government, was elected over a month after the October revolution. However, in view of the fact that the Communist failed to elect a majority of the members of the constituent assembly, it was dissolved by order of Lenin, thus officially placing the Communists on record as being opposed to popular government by liquidating the representatives elected directly by the people, although under soviet auspices.

Third International -- The third or Communist International was organized by Lenin at Moscow in March 1919 to carry out the revolutionary purposes of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. It is the revolutionary international of the working class and there is no denying the fact that it has tremendous influence among the more radical workers in every nation of the world. It has its beginning in 1915 and 1916 at conferences in Switzerland of the radical groups of the Second International. At these conferences Nikolai Lenin first came into prominence as the international revolutionary leader of the left-wing Socialist or Communists.

In January 1919 the Russian Communist Party sent out a call for a congress to be held at Moscow to form the Third or Communist International. This invitation was sent to some 49 Communist, revolutionary, and left-wing Socialist groups throughout the world.

Thus, the Communist International, known in Russia as the Comintern, came into full-fledged being at Moscow in March 1919, and has ever since been the medium of instigating class warfare and social revolution in all countries, in order to establish a world Soviet Union, with the capital at Moscow.

Overthrow of the provisional government. -- One month after the establishment of the provisional government the German general staff sent Nikolai Lenin and a score of his radical followers in a closed car from Switzerland through Germany back into Russia. This was a master stroke of strategy, as Lenin rapidly undermined the loyalty of the war-weary troops by promising a separate peace, bread, and a division of the lands among the soldiers and peasants. The Communist under the aggressive leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Stalin, because the center of disloyal activities against the provisional government headed by Kerensky, a Socialist. In July 1917 the Communists were unsuccessful in an uprising in St. Petersburg, and its leaders, including Lenin, had to flee to Finland. However, with the failure of the Russian Army offensive in Galicia the difficulties of the provisional government increased. The Communist infiltrated back into Russia, and became bolder and more aggressive. Kerensky, who was a weak and vacillating leader, was afraid to arrest the revolutionary Communist, or to call upon the army commanders for assistance.

Principles of the Communist International. -- The main principles of the Communist International are as follows: Overthrow and annihilation of so-called capitalist governmental power and its replacement by proletarian power; dictatorship of the working class; confiscation of property;

arming of the proletariat; armed conflict by the proletariat against capitalism; no compromise with Socialists remaining in the Second International.

The main objective of the Communist International is to promote world revolution, in order to bring about a world-wide union of Soviets, or dictatorship of the proletariat, with the capital at Moscow.

The Communist International and the Soviet Government.— The Communist International is dominated by the Russian Communist Party and soviet officials and could not exist without the wholehearted support of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and the financial backing of the Soviet Government.

The two most important and powerful men in Russia, Joseph Stalin, the Communist dictator who now holds two soviet posts, and Viacheslaf M. Molotoff (or Molotov) chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, are on the presidium or select committee that plans and control all the policies of the Communist International, for spreading revolutionary propaganda in foreign countries in order to intensify class hatred and cause strikes, riots, sabotage, and revolutionary activities, leading to civil war and revolution.

The Communist International is actually part and parcel of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government. For diplomatic reasons, the Soviet Government denies that it is responsible for the propaganda that emanates from the Communist International, but this pretense has long been apparent and has again been unmasked by the recent appointment of its two outstanding leaders, Stalin, and Molotoff, to important position in the Soviet Government.

The leaders of the Communist Party and the government called the conference for the formation of the Third International and the Soviet Government immediately contributed 2,000,000 rubles (\$1,000,000) to enable the Communist International to carry out its principles and put into effect its program for revolution in all the nations of the world.

The Soviet Government.— The Government of Russia, which is known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R), is an autocratic self-constituted dictatorship by a small group of self-perpetuating revolutionists. Joseph Stalin, the secretary general of the Communist Party, is the actual dictator. The Communist Party consist of 1,500,000 members, out of 150,000,000 people in Russia, but it controls the Soviet Government and the Communist International.

The Communist Party.— The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party or the Politbureau, is composed of 10 of the outstanding Communist leaders, including Stalin and Molotoff, and is the real power in Russia, effectively controlling and directing (1) the Soviet Government, which carries out the policies laid down by the Politbureau and administers the affairs of Soviet Russia; and (2) the Comintern, or Communist International, which is the vehicles for the dissemination of revolutionary activities throughout the world.

The legislative power is vested in the Congress of Soviet, which meets every 2 years, listen to speeches, adopts resolutions, and selects a central executive committee of between four and five hundred members to represent it during the intermission. The central executive committee in turn selects a small group, known as the presidium, which is the real legislative authority and appoints the commissars and judicial officers of the Government. The presidium is closely affiliated with the politbureau and many of its members are the same, again including Stalin and Molotoff.

At a meeting of the American commission of the Comintern at Moscow, in the month of May 1929, Stalin delivered two speeches, which the soviet press was careful not to divulge until January 1930 (Communist International, Russian edition, March 20, 1930). Stalin stated.

"I consider that the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist Party ~~in~~ to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States, but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching.

It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must prepare for that, comrades, with all your strength and by every means; you must constantly improve and bolshevize the American Communist Party. You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars.

Molotov, member of the presidium of the Communist International and president of the Council of Peoples Commissar (now Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Chief Soviet Delegate, UNO), read a detailed report on "The Communist International and the Revolutionary Thrust" at the tenth session of the executive committee of the Comintern, with reference to the United States, in part as follows:

"The Comintern has given particular attention to the situation in the Communist Party of the United States.

"A special delegation of the executive committee of the Comintern was sent to the last congress of this party (Communist Party of the United States). Afterward, for several weeks, there sat at Moscow a commission of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International which specially studied the situation in the Communist Party of the United States. The presidium of the executive committee of the Communist Party radically renewed the direction of the American Communist Party and created within it the conditions of a real Bolshevik development of the party and of a reinforcement of its authority among the working masses.

Formation of the Communist Party in America.-- Immediately after the creation of the Communist International at Moscow, in March 1919, a call was issued for the organization of the Communist Parties throughout the world and their adhesion to the Communist International. A convention of extreme American radicals was called in Chicago, in September 1919, made up of left-wing members of the old Socialist Party and other radicals. It was here that the Communist Party of America was founded as part of the Communist International.

Political activities in the United States.-- The Communists in the United States openly admit their allegiance to the Communist International at Moscow, and glory in the fact that they obey all the orders issued from there immediately and implicitly.

The Communist Party in the United States was first organized in Chicago, in September 1919, and was composed mostly of foreign-born workers, and had but little contact or influence with the great masses of the workers in American industries. Its principal function then was that of a propaganda organization for the Communist International, in support of a communist society to be achieved by means of a proletarian revolution and dictatorship.

Almost as soon as the American Communist Party was organized it was driven under cover on account of its illegality. In December 1921, the Workers' Party of America was formed as a camouflage for the real Communist Party of America, which maintained its existence underground. In 1925 the official name was changed to Workers' (Communist) Party of America, and at a convention held in March 1928, the Communists finally threw off all camouflage and boldly came out into the open as the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International, which is their present name.

The Government, by use of the provisions of the war-time legislation, drove the Communist Party underground, where it remained in an illegal status until 1924, when the repeal of the war measures and the consequent halting of Government activities by the agents of the Department of Justice, permitted it to reappear. The Communists came more and more into the open until today they flaunt their revolutionary activities through the country. Since 1925 the Department of Justice has had no power, no authority, or no funds from the Congress to investigate Communist propaganda or activities. During the period that the Department of Justice had actual authority the Communist Party was

driven underground where it could not function successfully. Just so long as the agents of the Department of Justice were active the movement remained comparatively stationary and innocuous. At the present time the Communist Party of the United States is thoroughly and highly organized, nationally and locally, and is extremely active.

The following is part of the testimony of William Z. Foster, twice candidate of the Communist Party for President of the United States, before the Fish Committee in which he explains some of the principles of his party:

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind stating to the committee the aims and principles of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. The aims and principles of the Communist Party, briefly stated, are to organize the workers to defend their interests under the capitalist system and to eventually abolish the capitalist system and to establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you tell us more definitely if the principles of the Communist Party, as advocated in this country, or anywhere else, are the same?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Communist Party advocate the confiscation of all private property?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the confiscation of the social necessities of life; that is, the basic industries and other industries for producing the means of livelihood for the people. But the property of individuals, personal belongings, and so on, no; that is, in the sense of their personal property.

The CHAIRMAN. When you refer to the capitalist system, just what do you mean?

Mr. FOSTER. I mean the system under which the industries of society are owned by private individuals and are used for the exploitation of the workers employed in those industries, for the profit of those who own the industries, and that this system is maintained by the Government as the major central function of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party advocate the abolition and destruction of religious beliefs?

Mr. FOSTER. Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people, as Karl Marx has stated, and we carry on propaganda for the liquidation of these prejudices amongst the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. To be a member of the Communist Party, do you have to be an atheist?

Mr. FOSTER. In order to be -- there is no formal requirement to this effect. Many workers join the Communist Party who still have some religious scruples, or religious ideas; but a worker who will join the Communist Party, who understands the elementary principles of the Communist Party, must necessarily be in the process of liquidating his religious belief and, if he still has any lingerings when he joins the party, he will soon get rid of them. But irreligion, that is atheism, is not laid down as a formal requirement for membership in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Eight or nine times.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar, then, with the workings of the Communist Party in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Reasonably.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can members of the Communist Party in Russia be married in the church and maintain religious beliefs of that nature, and practice them?

Mr. FOSTER. My opinion is that a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who would be married in a church would not be of any value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Could he maintain his membership in the party?

Mr. FOSTER. He would not.

The CHAIRMAN. He would be put out of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Eventually, if not for that specific act.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be the same in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. As I stated before, workers who would be so imbued with religious superstitions that they would be married in a church would be of no value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same thing would happen to them in this country that happens to them in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party believe in the promotion of class hatred?

Mr. FOSTER. This is a peculiar question. What do you mean by "class hatred"?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean stirring up and exciting class antagonism and hatred of the working class against the other classes, so called?

Mr. FOSTER. Our Party believes in developing the class consciousness of the workers; to educate the workers to an understanding of their class interests and to organize them to defend that class interest which, inevitably, brings them into conflict with the capitalist class in its whole system of ideology.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Communists in this country advocate world revolution?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; the Communists in this country realize that America is connected up with the whole world system, and the capitalist system displays the same characteristics everywhere—everywhere it makes for the misery and exploitation of the workers—and it must be abolished, not only on an American scale but on a world scale.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they do advocate world revolution; and do they advocate revolution in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that the Communists advocate the abolition of the capitalist system in this country and every other country; that this must develop out of the sharpening of the class struggle and the struggle of the workers for bread and butter.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, are the Communists in this country opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. The capitalist democracy—most assuredly. No stand for a workers' and farmers' government; a government of producers, not a government of exploiters. The American capitalist Government is built and controlled in the interests of those who own the industries, and we say that the Government must be built and controlled by those who work in the industries and who produce.

The CHAIRMAN. They are opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. Most assuredly.

The CHAIRMAN. And they desire to overthrow it through revolutionary methods?

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to read from the program of the Communist International at this point. The Communist International program says—

Mr. BACHMAN. From what page are you reading?

Mr. FOSTER. Page 34—

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeois resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie can not abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle; hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can only be suppressed by the stern violence of the proletariat."

The CHAIRMAN. Just what is the Third International,

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist International is the world party of the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Communist Party of the United States connected with it,

Mr. FOSTER. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the American section.

The CHAIRMAN. You take your orders from the Third International; do you?

Mr. FOSTER. The question, "Do you take our orders from the Communist International?" is a question which reveals the utter distance of the capitalist conception of organization from that of the worker. The Communist International is a world party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. It works out its policy by the mass principles of those parties in all its deliberations. It is a party that conducts the most fundamental examination of all questions that come before it and, when a decision is arrived at in any given instance, this decision the workers, with their customary sense of proletarian discipline, accept and put into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do take the orders and carry them out, as decided in Moscow by the Third International of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated it is not a question of taking orders.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, putting them into effect?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a question of working out policies with the Comintern, in the Comintern, as part of this proletarian organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they have to carry out those orders; do they not?

Mr. FOSTER. Carry out the policies?

The CHAIRMAN. Carry out the orders and policies as initiated by the Third International of the Communist Party over in Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. We carry out the policies in the way I have stated.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. You believe that by advocating the substitution of the soviet system of government for the republican form of government you are operating under the law?

Mr. FOSTER. I, of course, do not say we derived our theories from the Declaration of Independence, but the Declaration of Independence says that when a government demonstrates that it no longer represents the interests of the masses it is not only the right but the duty of these masses to dispose of that government and to establish one that will represent their interests—to abolish that government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, what you advocate is a change of our republican form of government and the substituting of the soviet form of government.

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that a number of times.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if I understand you, the workers in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. The more advanced workers do.

The CHAIRMAN. Look upon the Soviet Union as their country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They look upon the soviet flag as their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletariat revolution; it was also, incidentally, the flag of the American Revolution in its earlier stages. The red flag has been the flag of revolution for many years before the Russian Revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the workers of this country consider, then, the Soviet Government to be their country? Do they also consider the red flag to be their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered quite clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you owe allegiance to the American flag; does the Communist Party owe allegiance to the American flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of soviet governments.



The CHAIRMAN. Well, they do not claim any allegiance, then, to the American flag in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. That is, you mean the support of capitalism in America--no.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if they had to choose between the red flag and the American flag, I take it from you that you would choose the red flag; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to force you to answer if it embarrasses you, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. It does not embarrass me at all. I stated very clearly the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class and we are part of the revolutionary class.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that.

Mr. FOSTER. And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

(From Union Calendar No. 2, House Report No. 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, pages 10 to 21.)

#### XI. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Your Committee has shown from the foregoing disclosures that there is a Communist Party in the Philippines whose program of activities is aimed at the ultimate overthrow of the existing system of government in this country by force and violence.

We have shown the two-pronged methods which the Communist Party is employing to attain that end, namely, by the use of "united front" and "transmission belt" organizations, and by armed force.

We have also shown that the activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines are directed and controlled by the Communist Party of the United States, and that the Communist Party of the United States is controlled by the Communist International, which is in turn controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Committee revealed that the united front political organization of the Communist Party is embodied in the Democratic Alliance. The principles guiding the political activities of both the Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance are similar; and that the Democratic Alliance was organized principally because the Communist Party, having been declared an illegal association by the Supreme Court, cannot come out openly as a legal political party; and secondly, because the program of the Communist Party will not be accepted by the Philippine people without being camouflaged, the camouflage in this case being the Democratic Alliance.

Curiously enough the Democratic Alliance is headed by someone who has confessed under oath his ignorance about Communism and the relationship between the Communist Party and the Democratic Alliance. This Communist Party front organization has not only succeeded in catapulting six (6) of its members at the portals of this House, but also has effected a strange coalition between itself and a traditional and legal political party in this country, the Nacionalista Party (Conservative Wing).

The transmission belt organization of the Communist Party among the agricultural workers in the Philippines is the National Peasants Union (PKM), to which one of the respondent DA members, Amado M. Yuzon, admitted membership. This organization is serving as the dues collecting agency of the Communist Party, as well as the central school for the communist indoctrination of our agricultural masses.

The Hukbalahap organization is undoubtedly the armed unit of the Communist Party. Commanded by a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and the directorate of the Democratic Alliance, it was organized in 1942 purportedly to fight the Japanese invaders in the Philippines. The evidence show, however, that despite the fact that the Japanese militarists have already been driven out of this country, this armed organization still exists and presently is engaging the military forces of the Republic in hit-and-run engagements. The commander-in-chief of the Hukbalahap forces, Luis Taruc, who is also one of the respondents in this investigation, is wanted by the government on a series of criminal charges, including murder.

Your committee also received evidence showing the existence of a host of other united front and transmission belt organizations of the Communist Party with various descriptions and activities. We cannot, however, proceed to examine these materials without indefinitely

delaying this report.

The Committee now submits the following information with respect to six (6) DA members awaiting the decision of this House:

**LUIS TARRIC, 2nd District, Pampanga.**

One of the organizers and former national secretary of the pre-war Agusan Ding Maldang Talapagobra (Association of the Working Masses).

Former national secretary of the Socialist Party of Pedro Abad Santos. Member, national committee of the Communist Party (Merger of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party).

Former chairman of the Military Committee of the People's Anti-Japanese United Front Movement.

First vice-president of the National Peasants Union (PKM)

Member of the national directorate of the Democratic Alliance. Commander-in-chief with the rank of "major general" of the Hukbalahap armed bands.

Presently wanted by the Government on a series of criminal charges, including murder.

**AMADO YUZON, 1st District, Pampanga.**

Denied membership or full knowledge of the program of the Communist Party.

Admitted he was secretary of the National Peasants Union. Claims to have drafted the constitution and by-laws of the organization.

**JESUS LAVA, 1st District, Bulacan.**

No evidence available showing conclusively that he is a member of the Communist Party.

Identified by G-2, MFC(PA) as Chief of the Contact and Collection Section of the Manila-Rizal unit of the Hukbalahap.

**ALEJANDRO SIMPAUO, 2nd District, Tarlac.**

Denied knowledge of the Communist movement in the Philippines.

Admitted he was Chief of the Division of Investigation of Tarlac Regiment of the Hukbalahap, having used the alias "Estrella."

**CONCEPCION PADILLA, 2nd District, Nueva Ecija.**

Denied membership in the Hukbalahap or the PKM.

Denied knowledge of the Communist movement.

Being a lawyer, he served as defense attorney of members of the PKM and the Hukbalahap.

**JOSE GANDO, 1st District, Nueva Ecija.**

Denied membership in the Hukbalahap or the PKM.

Denied knowledge of the Communist movement.

Being a lawyer, he served as defense attorney of members of the PKM and the Hukbalahap.

Where the respondents denied knowledge of the Communist movement or membership thereof, the Committee did not fish for evidence. The evidence with respect to Luis Tarus's affiliations and activities are contained in the Communist Party's publications, besides being matters of public record. Suffice to say that all these six (6) gentlemen are acknowledged members of the Democratic Alliance, whose function as a front of the Communist Party we have already shown.

## XII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering all the evidence on record, documentary and oral, and after carefully weighing all the circumstances surrounding the case of each and every Congressman involved in the resolution, the Committee, believes and so holds that two classifications must be considered in rendering its final recommendation, to wit: 1) cases with protests; and 2) cases without protests.

From the evidence on record, it appears that the elections of Congressmen Luis Taruc of the 2nd District of Pampanga, Amado M. Yuzon of the 1st District of Pampanga, Jesus B. Lava of the 1st District of Bulacan, Jose Cando of the 1st District of Nueva Ecija, and Constancio Padilla of the 2nd District of Nueva Ecija, are contested, election protests against them being now pending before the Electoral Tribunal. In the case of Alejandro Simpaucio of the 2nd District of Tarlac, there is no protest against his election.

House Resolution No. 9 which gave rise to the creation of this Committee provides for deferment of the oath-taking of the Congressmen above-mentioned in view of the report of the Commission on Elections dated May 23, 1946, pending final resolution of the protests filed against them. It is evident, therefore, that where no election protest exists against the election of any one of them, no other alternative is left for the Committee but to permit the oath taking of such Congressmen elected. As this is the case of Congressman-elect Alejandro Simpaucio. It appears, however, from the voluminous records of these proceedings and particularly from the testimony of the respondent himself that terrorism had really been practised in several towns of his district. But there being no protest against his election, and therefore no necessity exists either for us or for the Electoral Tribunal to determine the degree of such terrorism as to affect

the result of his election, we are constrained to conclude that out of respect for the people of the district he represents, Congressman-elect Simpaucó should be so allowed to take his oath and take his seat among the Members of the House of Representatives.

With respect, however, to the other Congressmen namely, Luis Taruc, Amado M. Yuzon, Jesus B. Lava, Jose Cando and Constancio Padilla, fairness and justice require that terrorism having been found by this Committee to have been practised in their respective districts, their oath taking should be further deferred until such time as the Electoral Tribunal may finally determine their respective cases on their merits. Furthermore, it is important that treating as it does of a delicate matter as the seating or unseating of the Members of Congress which devolves upon Congress itself, the Members should be furnished with copies of the report of these proceedings in order that they may intelligently and conscientiously arrive at a proper and definite conclusion. And to enable the Members to have a careful study of these proceedings and at the same time give them the opportunity to go over the voluminous records of the same, we propose that Congress take the matter up in the first week of its next regular session in January, 1948.

WHEREFORE, in the light of the foregoing, your Committee recommends that Congressman-elect Alejandro Simpaucó be allowed to take his oath immediately and occupy his seat as Representative of the 2nd District of Tarlac; and that with respect to the other Congressmen concerned, that this Congress take up for consideration of their respective cases at its next session in January, 1948.

And furthermore, in view of the subversive activities on the part of certain organizations unearthed during the course of this investigation, it is found necessary the creation of a more or less permanent special committee to continue the investigation

of Communism and all other subversive activities in this country. This special committee should be provided with sufficient funds to maintain a staff that will be engaged in the creation of an arsenal of information with respect to the ideology and methods of subversive individuals, groups or associations that are actively operating in the Philippines.

Respectfully submitted,

(SGD.) CORNELIO T. VILLAREAL  
Chairman

(SGD.) ESTANISLAO A. FERNANDEZ  
Member

I concur in the result:

(SGD.) LORENZO SUMULONG  
Member

(SGD.) TORIBIO P. PEREZ  
Member

A T T E S T :

(SGD.) F. E. RIVERA  
Secretary